No.309 / JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1999

THE NI NEW INTERNATIONALIST

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LISA WOOLLETT / FORMAT

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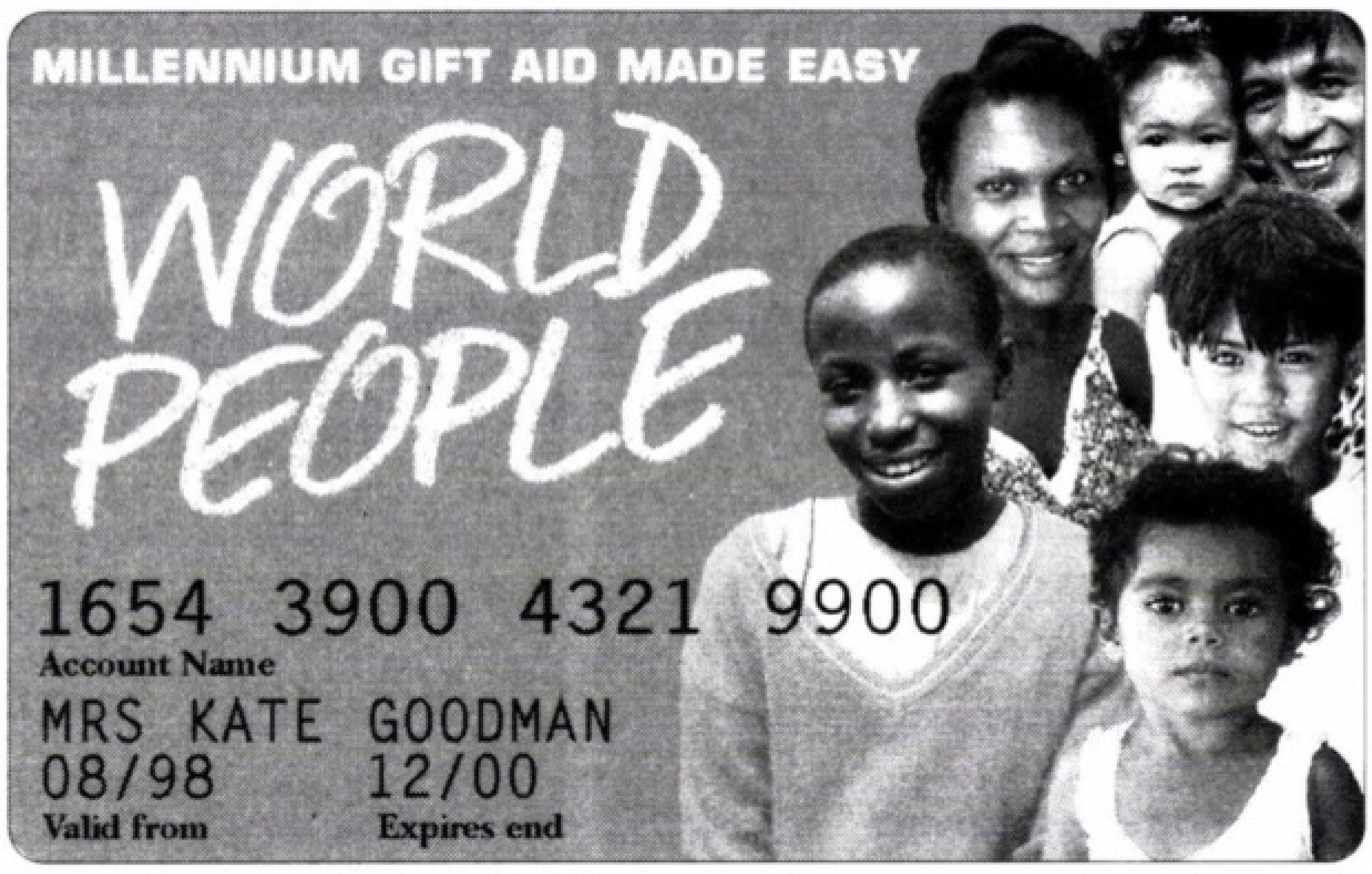

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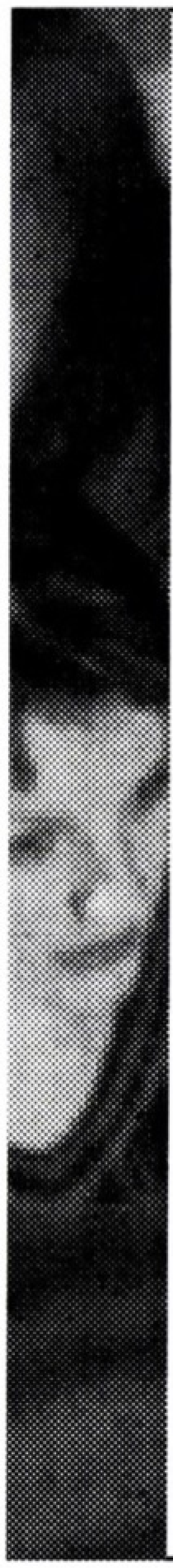

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NEW INTERNATIONALIST No. 309

THIS MONTH'S **THEME**

The Radical Twentieth Century

FROM THIS MONTH'S **EDITOR**

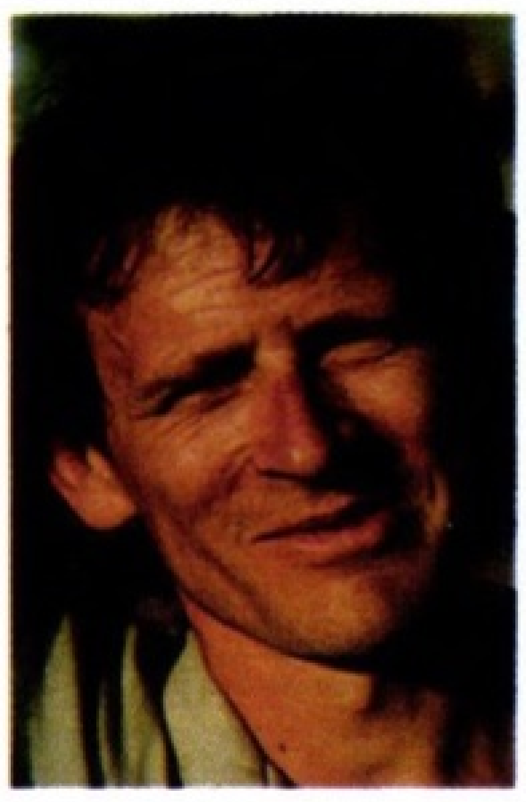
THIS issue has had a longer genesis than most. Ten years ago, for my sins, I tried to write a history of the world in the scope of one issue of the **NI**. This fitted in with our perpetual promise to deliver a big subject in the palm of your hand ('easier to read than a book...') but probably represented my own particular strain of megalomania. I failed on one count to which I confessed openly – I needed 20 extra pages even to begin to do justice to the material. But there was another shortcoming which I managed to gloss over – I found it impossible to bring the narrative up to date, to take it beyond the Second World War.

This was partly because the post-War world, with its profusion of countries, concerns and sheer human numbers, is intrinsically much more complicated than the one which preceded it. But it was also too close for me to see it in its proper perspective.

Ever since then I've had the ambition of completing the work, of looking at the twentieth century as a whole, and the beginning of 1999 – a few months before the stream of mainstream retrospectives becomes a flood – seemed the natural time to do so.

Again, I've accomplished the task only by bursting the banks – even the broader banks of a January-February bumper issue. The 16-page booklet which accompanies this magazine is part and parcel of the whole: it recounts the key events of the century with an explicit bias towards the viewpoint of the poor and marginalized and of the resistance movements which represented them. In that sense it is a century-wide extension of our annual 'Chronicle', which selects the key events of the year with a particular eye to those affecting the Majority World – and our eight-page survey of key events and trends in 1998 begins on Page 36.

The bulk of this issue, however, is given over to an attempt to reclaim the century from the opinion-mongers who are already saying its essential meaning lies in the victory of 'Truth, Justice and the American Way' over all comers – and if you think I am exaggerating the extravagance of their claims then you might start by examining a few of them on Page 7.



Our own idea of **The Radical Twentieth Century** is that many of the greatest social and political achievements of the century, many of the things humanity values most about itself, derive directly from the hard work and imagination of protest and resistance movements. We have therefore looked back on the century's events and trends from the point of view of five key movements: anti-colonialism, feminism, labour, peace and the environment.

What **The Radical Twentieth Century** shows is not only that events are shaped as much by the masses of ordinary people as by 'great' leaders (a standard but still valid Marxist point) but also that the world can be fundamentally changed by movements considered utterly lunatic when they start out. For a magazine which owes its very existence to the belief that there is a better way of ordering the world, there could be no better lesson to carry into the twenty-first century.

Chris Brazier

Chris Brazier
*for the **New Internationalist** Co-operative*

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JENNY MATTHEWS / FORMAT

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*The century is being hijacked. Time to reclaim it, says **Chris Brazier**.*

A bunch of fives 10
From unsung martyrs to big ideas, from dangerous corporations to ridiculous wars, here is the century in lists of five.

ANTI-COLONIALISM
The heart of Africa 12
*Amid attempts to wrestle with conflict in Burundi and DR Congo, former Tanzanian leader **Julius Nyerere** reflects with **Ikaweba Bunting** on an anti-colonial life.*

ECOLOGY
The powerboat and the planet 16
*The **NI** looks back over the brief but vibrant history of the environmental movement.*

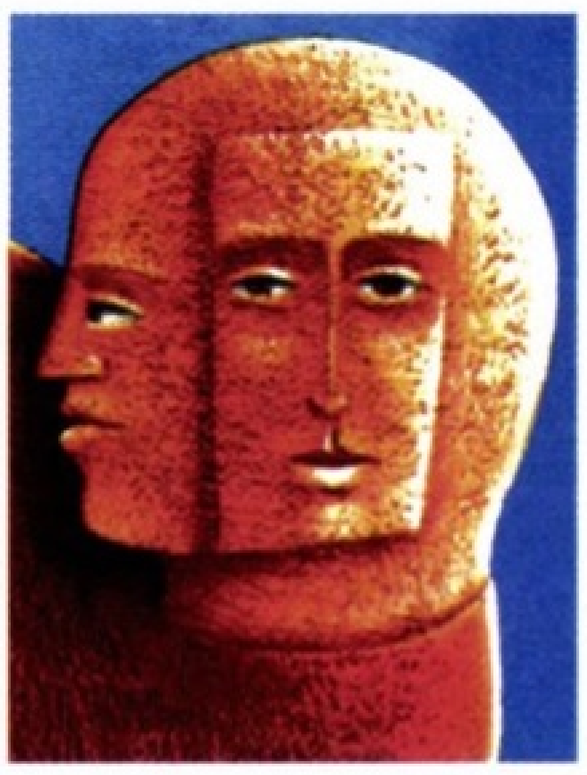
FEMINISM
Domestic murder and the golden sea 18
*India's **Urvashi Butalia** starts her journey through the women's century by recalling an incident chillingly close to home.*

LABOUR
After the eclipse 21
*The labour movement has seen revolution, reform and apparent defeat. But the best is yet to come, argues **Jeremy Seabrook**.*

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT 1900 & 2000 – THE FACTS 24

PEACE
No more war heroes 26
*Few people escaped war and its ravages entirely. But the peace movement still made a difference, believes **Dorothy Thompson**.*

Betrayal and promise 29
*Pre-millennial blues are understandable given the state we're in, says **Eduardo Galeano**. But there's plenty of hope of redemption out there if only you will look.*



IAN MOORE

Big Bad Century 32
*Come out from under that desk, barks cartoonist **PJ Polyp** – this is what we've all been waiting for, this is... The Exponential Century.*

Heaven, hell and spring sunshine 34
***Chris Brazier** writes a postscript for the twentieth century – and burrows into the gaping cracks in the new world order.*

THE RADICAL
TWENTIETH
CENTURY

CHRONICLE OF 1998 36
An alternative view of the year's events, with special features on Indonesia, weather, the Middle East, international justice, DR Congo, Iraq and alternative prizewinners.

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MAGAZINE DESIGNED BY **ANDREW KOKOTKA**.
Front cover photographs: Gandhi (Hulton-Deutsch/Corbis); Mandela (Paul Velasco/ABPL/Corbis); suffragettes (Hulton-Deutsch/Corbis); peace plant (George W Wright/Corbis); Aung San Suu Kyi (Howard Davies/Corbis); Chinese Communists (UPI/Corbis-Bettmann); farmer (Glen Williams); baby (anon); painting by V Serov.

Letters

The **New Internationalist** welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address and e-mail are inside the front cover.

Ecological constraints

It is not kind but cruel to understate the ecological constraints on development as you did recently in the issue on eco-socialism (**NI 307**). A brutal fact of life is that the world contains only 10.2 billion hectares of ecologically productive land ie arable, pasture, forest and energy land (land needed for absorbing CO_2 or for producing energy from renewable sources). After setting aside a not-very-generous 12 per cent for the exclusive use of other species that leaves nine billion hectares for humans.

THE NI NEW INTERNATIONALIST
Red and Green
Eco-socialism comes of age
• Greenprint for the future
• Mama Afrika
• Reasons to be fearful

The minimum amount required to provide one person with a satisfactory standard of living is at least three hectares, ie half the current appropriation in Australia and North America. Such a hypothetical 'modest footprint' involves reduced per capita consumption in rich countries and greatly increased per capita consumption in poor countries – and huge reductions in population everywhere, eg a two-thirds reduction in the UK population.

David Willey
Manchester, England

Divide and rule

I was disappointed by your recent coverage of Dorje Shugden (**NI 305**) and subsequent letter from Dan Coote (**NI 307**). Reports from my family in Tibet tell me that the Chinese are giving money to Tibetans to erect temples to Dorje Shugden (having spent years destroying our temples) and are actively encouraging this practice. It is the old policy of divide and rule, and a trick that you are guilty of falling for and assisting. Red China may have many good points, but their illegal invasion of my country and their brutish treatment of my people is not one of them.

Like any emerging democracy the Tibetan Government in exile is having teething problems, which I would not describe as a crisis. However, the Dalai Lama, who does not claim to be the political leader of the Tibetans, has worked consistently to try to create harmony between the different schools of Tibetan Buddhism. His discouragement of the Dorje Shugden practice, far from being a curtailment of freedom, is an attempt to iron out traditional divisions for the good of his people.

Sonam Choephel
Clitheroe, England

Get Real

I write to protest against the lingering heterosexism evident in the review of the British film, *Get Real* (**NI 307**). Having established the film's plot (Steven and Linda are both looking for boyfriends), Steven's motives are immediately qualified: he 'is a well-adjusted young man who has known he was gay since he was 11'. Though apparently sympathetic to a queer perspective, this comment leaves the reader steeped in heterosexist presumption: gay desire requires explanation, whereas straight desire is a given.

As long as homosexuality is approached in these terms, surely the institutionalization of heterosexuality can only continue unabated.

Adrian Renzo
Sydney, Australia

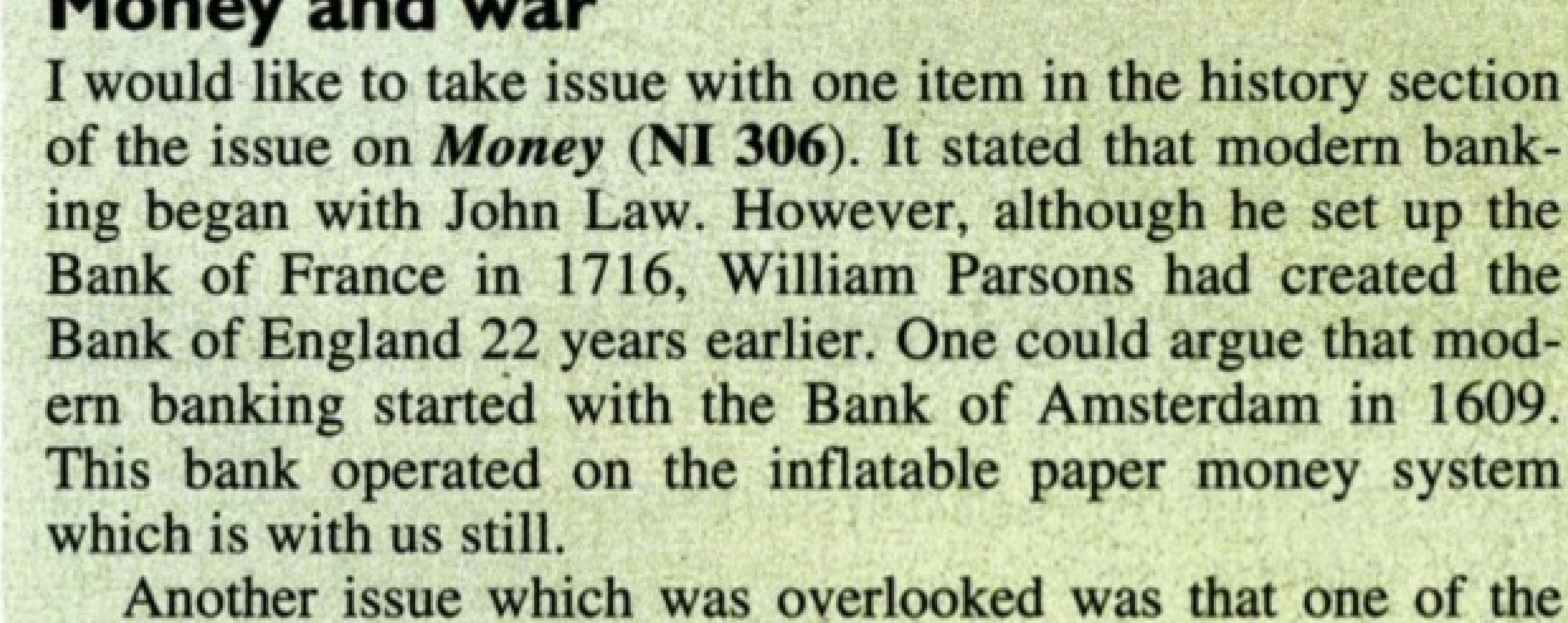
Money and war

I would like to take issue with one item in the history section of the issue on ***Money*** (**NI 306**). It stated that modern banking began with John Law. However, although he set up the Bank of France in 1716, William Parsons had created the Bank of England 22 years earlier. One could argue that modern banking started with the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609. This bank operated on the inflatable paper money system which is with us still.

Another issue which was overlooked was that one of the major reasons for having such a system was, and still is, to finance wars. In 1609 the Dutch had just signed a truce suspending hostilities in the 80 Years' War with Spain. The financiers who created the Bank of Amsterdam did so on the understanding that they would lend money to the Dutch Government to continue its war with Spain. In fact the Bank issued notes four times in excess of its asset base.

Throughout history this policy has continued to operate and has contributed to the prolonging of wars. It has also generated massive debt and a parasitic absorption of wealth in the hands of the few at the expense of the majority. Furthermore, steady inflation reduces the value of people's money so that their accumulated wealth is greatly eroded.

Ivan Stevens
Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand


I like my money Safely in the bank
Khaki's Bank
Whose war shall we escalate today?
Quillin
VIV QUILLIN

Not just a good thing

Your issue on the money economy (**NI 306**) dealt with a complex and mystifying topic in a way that clarified, without ever suggesting, that the issues were straightforward. It was particularly heartening to see you highlighting the development of local economies as a way forward. My one criticism would be of your implication that economies, whether local, national, or global, are an end in themselves. They should be a means to the end of meeting human needs and assessed on their ability to do so.

My own view is that we need to start by recognizing that individuals seek to realize themselves and that this can best be achieved through a network of reciprocal relationships that allow everyone involved to explore and express themselves in ways that are acknowledged and valued by all. That is one definition of a community. A local economy (such as a LETS system) is then a means to that end, to be judged as such, and not something to be established because it is seen as a 'good thing' or because the alternative is even worse.

Chris Wright
Altrincham, England

Uses of cocoa

I would like to point out the many uses of cocoa that you didn't mention in your magazine (**NI 304**), for example, that the cocoa root is used as a chewing stick to cure catarrh, and that its leaves were used for family planning.

A M Kwabena
Osino, Ghana

Sprouting chocolate

In your letter section of the October issue (**NI 306**) a Canadian reader enquired whether Green and Blacks Maya Gold Chocolate was available in Canada. The editor replied that it is not but in fact I have found the exclusive Canadian distributor. Write to: Sprout Master, RR#3, Box 43, Site W, Elmvale, ON LOL 1PO. Tel: (705) 322 2222. email: sproutm@webgate.net

In addition to many organic foods and seeds, they carry the Green and Blacks organic chocolate and hot chocolate.

Lisa Burnside
Ancaster, Ontario, Canada

Fulfilled lives

Concerning migrants to Aotearoa/New Zealand (**NI 305**) I found your article highlighted very well the way our Government admits immigrants and then dumps them.

Why hasn't our Government followed up what has happened to individual immigrants? The policy-makers need to know how factors like ages, number of generations in a family unit and country of origin affect how immigrants fare: for example we locals understand some accents in English better than others and I would expect that students would be able to integrate better than qualified professionals with young families.

These people are new members of our national family; it is our responsibility to ensure that they have real opportunity to lead fulfilled lives.

Norman Wilkins
Christchurch, Aotearoa/New Zealand

CORRECTION

In 'Diamond Dogs of War' (***Mining* NI 299**) Roger Moody stated that Herb Howe, Professor of African Politics at Georgetown University, had been paid by Executive Outcomes to visit Sierra Leone. We now recognize that the suggestion that Professor Howe had been paid by Executive Outcomes to visit Sierra Leone is without foundation. We are happy to set the record straight.

New Internationalist

Scream together

Why the bombing of Iraq, and the silence of the politicians, drove **Mari Marcel Thekaekara** to distraction.

THE SADDAM-CLINTON show was on again. Even in a remote town in South India the jokes were circulating. 'Poor Saddam! This time he's been bombed by a female. That Monica lady must be some woman. She's finished off two presidents.'

I felt bemused. There was a surreal quality to the TV coverage. The focus was on the impeachment. The bombing of Iraq – you couldn't call such a one-sided affair a 'war' – was a backdrop. Appropriate no doubt. Members of the American Congress, gentlemen and gentleladies all, Republican and Democrat, reaffirmed their support of the bombing in the midst of arguing about impeachment. I thought it was unbelievable. Or is there something wrong with me?

It was obvious to all of us that this was a war game of the worst kind. The semantics were trotted out. 'Our objective is to diminish Saddam's arsenal. It's a realistic objective.' But everyone knows that Saddam will come out laughing and still be around when Clinton's gone.

They pretend they're doing the world a favour. But not one American politician came out against the injustice of the war or the cruelty of the sanctions. It was, after all, Thatcher's Britain and Reagan's US who piously refused to order sanctions against apartheid South Africa – because they couldn't bear to hurt ordinary, innocent South Africans. Neither Desert Storm nor Desert Fox has caused Saddam any personal or political discomfort. It's the Iraqi people who continue to suffer. Few people have read about their plight. Even fewer care.

While I watched the news an image of Jassim ('Endpiece', **NI** November 1998) kept coming back to me. Felicity Arbuthnot's haunting piece, about the 13-year-old child poet dying of a leukaemia caused by the radioactive residue of the 1991 war, should be read by more people. Creating cancer in children and poisoning the earth for generations of unborn children should be treated as war crimes. And the victors as much as the vanquished should be held responsible for their actions, punished when they perpetrate evil in the name of peace.

Britain was mentioned only in passing – people everywhere dismissed Tony Blair as Clinton's lackey. I watched Blair pounding the desk in front of him to make a futile point which not even the most foolish human being could possibly believe. And yet he, too, was allowed to get away with it. There was so little protest, so little response. I remember a time in the 1970s when ordinary Labour Party supporters in Britain had a strong sense of justice. Not merely when it came to their domestic issues. Television had politicized everyone. Brought the world into everyone's sitting room. And people protested against injustice. Against stupid wars. Now everyone sits there looking helpless.

Everyone knows that Saddam will come out laughing and still be around when Clinton's gone

God hasn't been on our side for a long while. Isn't it time we took to the streets again? Where are the students? The Church groups? The Liberation people? The activists? Even the Red-turned-Pink people?

Creating cancer in children should be a war crime: Jassim, the 13-year-old Iraqi child-poet who died of leukemia at the end of last year.

KAREN ROBINSON

By the time you read this it'll be a month since the bombs fell on Iraqi children. But there'll be other senseless attacks. As we approach the millennium let's build something better. For the children of Iraq. For the children of the world.

Or at least let's scream together. ■

Mari Marcel Thekaekara lives and works in the Nilgiris, Southern India.

This replaces the usual 'Letter from Mongolia' which will be back next month.

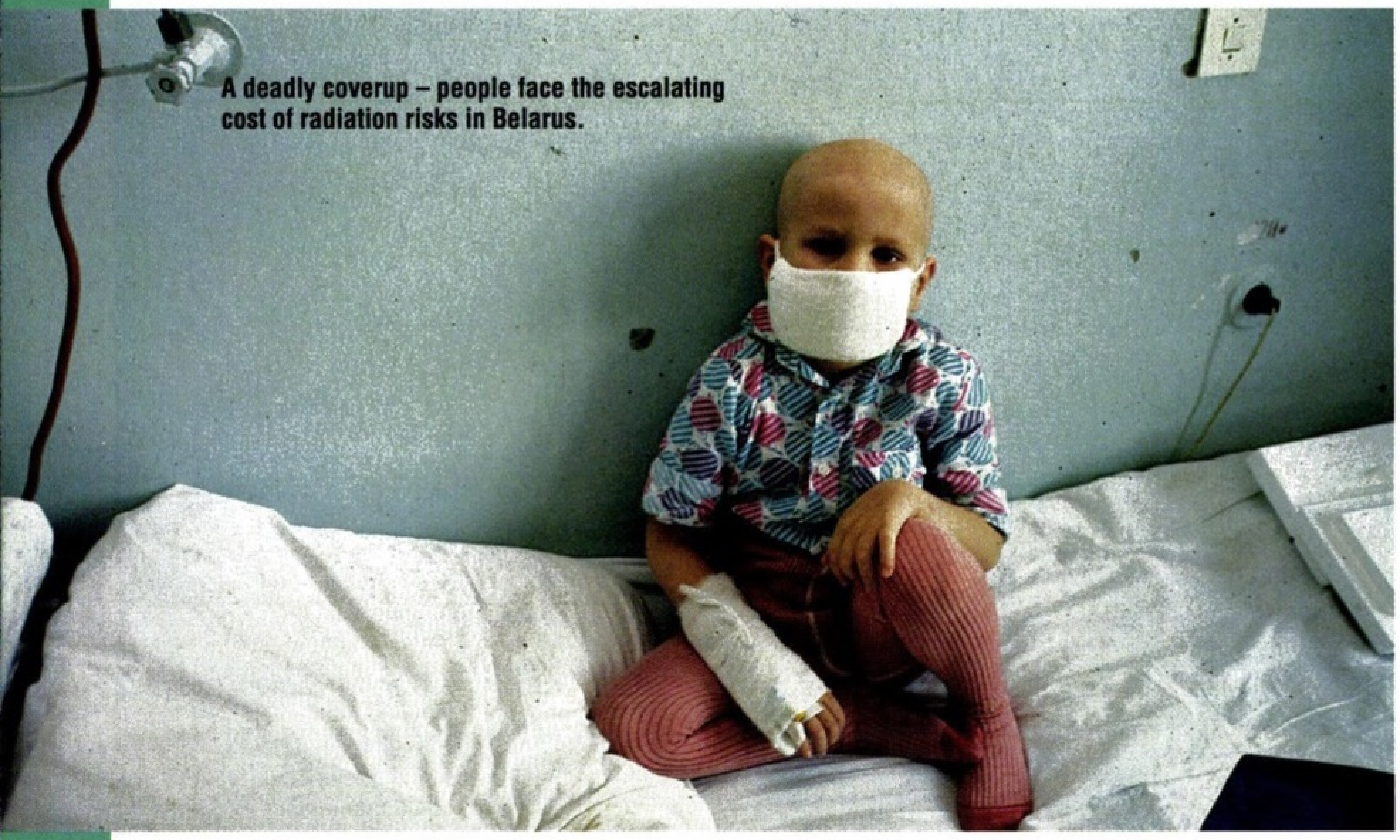
Update

NUCLEAR DISASTER

Weird science

Researchers downplay Chernobyl's radiation risk

SCIENTISTS from Belarus, the country worst affected by the 1986 Chernobyl accident, report the effects of the disaster are far worse than the international community has been led to believe. At a conference in Minsk they said a wide range of diseases and deformities in children have increased drastically: 'The existence of a serious radiation risk should be admitted.'



A deadly coverup – people face the escalating cost of radiation risks in Belarus.

ANDREW TESTA / STILL PICTURES

Dr Goncharova reports that since 1987 birth defects rose by 24 per cent in the so-called 'clean' regions, by 30 per cent in the 'mildly' radiocontaminated areas and by 83 per cent in the 'heavily' contaminated areas. The frequency of malformations among infants increased from 12.5 per 1,000 births in 1985 to 17.7 in 1994. This figure does not include abortions linked to genetic abnormalities which doubled between 1990 and 1994.

'It is common practice to send young girls who have just qualified as teachers to the most contaminated areas to gain experience. This of course jeopardizes their future prospects to have healthy children,' claims a local environmental activist. Local scientists report that there has been a particular increase in morbidity among women and children living in the most contaminated areas.

But Western experts dispute the scale of the disaster. The 1996 International Conference *One Decade After Chernobyl* in Vienna did not specifically examine data on birth defects, but concluded that there was no consistent, attributable increase in any incidence of disease other than thyroid cancer. The conference was sponsored by the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA), the EU and the World Health Organization and was attended by 800 scientists from around the world.

The IAEA has come under fire from environmentalists for representing the interests of the nuclear lobby. 'The IAEA was founded 40 years ago when nuclear power was believed to be the solution to global energy needs. It was promoted as a safe, secure and cheap form of energy production. However, during the past four decades the opposite has proven to be true,' says Greenpeace.

The costs associated with the impact of the Chernobyl accident are immense – in 1994 they exceeded 20 per cent of the Belarusan state budget and are believed to remain at the same level. However, the denial by the Vienna conference of any serious health risk caused by the Chernobyl explosion – with the exception of thyroid cancer – means that Belarus has missed out on vital international aid.

Both local and international scientists agree that there has been immense increase in thyroid cancer – in Belarus more than 900 people have been affected since 1990. The incidence of thyroid cancer and leukaemia is highest among the nearly 500,000 Soviet soldiers and civilians who worked to limit the impact of the nuclear accident. Local scientists say that the number of leukaemia cases across the country has surged in the last few years.

But this is questioned by Western researchers. 'I have not seen evidence of a rise in leukaemia, nor have I seen proof of any rise in hereditary diseases or birth defects,' says Professor D Marples from the University of Alberta, who has examined the effects of the nuclear accident on Belarus.

President of Belarus, Alexander Lukashenko, has banned all political opposition and exerts strict control over the media. His government plans to build a nuclear power station in one of the more contaminated regions in an attempt to reduce the country's dependency on Russian fuel, although construction may be delayed by the latest economic crisis. ■

Chris Groner

Hired guns

A British thinktank, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, has defended the activities of mercenary outfits in a pamphlet by former aid worker David Shearer. In *Private Armies and Military Intervention* Shearer argues that 'states and international organizations need to rethink current perceptions of the private military sector as an unpleasant aberration'. Since rich countries are unwilling to engage in direct military intervention in the Third World, argues Shearer, mercenary outfits can be called in to do the job for them: 'The time has come to begin a policy of constructive engagement with military companies.'

Red Pepper No 49 1998

Shielded – Japan gets around landmine ban.

HARTMUT SCHWARZBACH / STILL PICTURES

Calling the shots

Japan is planning to spend $2.5 million developing a new generation of landmines that can be detonated by remote control. These will replace the mines that will soon be outlawed by the Ottawa Convention which requires signatories to destroy all antipersonnel landmines within ten years.

Japanese officials say devices that soldiers can detonate by remote control fall outside the scope of the agreement. These mines' destructive power would be similar to that of conventional mines which scatter 1,200 projectiles over an area of 100 metres in diameter. But Tatsuhiko Fukui of Japan's defence agency says: 'This is not a landmine. We are not even calling it a landmine.'

New Scientist Vol 159 No 2149

SOUTH ASIA

Stormy seas

Fishing boats stuck in the middle of international conflict

Tug of war – Indian fishers become victims of violence.

HARTMUT SCHWARZBACH / STILL PICTURES

FISHERS on either side of the Palk strait that separates Sri Lanka and India are counting the cost of continuing their way of life. They have become caught in the battle between security forces and guerrillas, frequently getting shot at, beaten, arrested and having their boats seized or sunk. The area has been fraught with tension as security forces from India and Sri Lanka battle the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) rebels who have been fighting for independence. Both Indian and Sri Lankan fishers say they are harassed. One fishers' representative from Rameswaram says rebels have snatched at least 40 Indian fishing boats in recent years. Seventy-four Indian fishers have been shot dead by security officers in the last 15 years and another 251 Indians have been injured in scuffles between security forces and LTTE.

One man tells of an encounter when fishing with three others: 'It was a very stormy night and our boat crossed to the Sri Lankan side. When we realized this, we started back. But suddenly we were confronted by a Sri Lankan naval boat. We put on the light, raised our hands and begged for mercy. But they were firing and shouting at us. They captured us, took off our shirts, tied them around our eyes and started beating us. We were taken to Sri Lanka and kept in Mannar jail.' They spent 100 days in detention and after their release they found their boat was damaged and the engine had been stolen.

Sahay Raj was also captured by the Sri Lankan navy who took much of his equipment and beat him: 'Our very lives and livelihoods are in danger and no government does anything.'

Bilateral border agreements, signed in 1974 and 1976, bar fishers from crossing the maritime boundary. The accords have been a source of tension as the two countries have interpreted them differently. Fisher M Sahayam says: 'What can you do when you can't see the border?' Locals say agreements should be updated to take fishers' interests into account.

Sahayam says the locals want peace: 'Although we have been traditional fishers for generations, we are being thought of as LTTE or their sympathizers. When LTTE activities or the authorities' actions against them increase, the shootings and killings of us also increase.' ■

Mukul Sharma/Gemini News Service

ALAIN COMPOST / STILL PICTURES

Heavy burden – dam threatens West Papuans.

Pet project bites

A massive industrial project affecting an area half the size of Java is set to cause environmental havoc in the Mamberamo region of West Papua (Irian Jaya). The plan involves damming the Mamberamo river to provide for heavy industry and agricultural projects. The area is virgin rainforest, with one of the highest biodiversity rates in the world. Flooding by the dam, land clearance and pollution from industry will have a catastrophic impact on the environment.

The local people will also suffer – 6,000 people from seven different tribes live in the area, most of whom are illiterate and have no experience of industrialization. Official statements say only that the tribes will be 'relocated' – uprooted from land they have owned for generations and forced to resettle elsewhere. The dam project is currently on hold due to the economic crisis in Indonesia, but President Habibie's personal involvement and the high priority the project is given suggest the future may be bleak for the peoples of Mamberamo.

Rebecca Spencer

ACTION: Oxford Papuan Rights Campaign, 3 Woodbine Place, Oxford OX1 1JS, Britain.
e-mail: oprc@sable.ox.ac.uk website: oprc.base.org
Australian West Papua Association, PO Box 65, Millers Point, NSW 2000 Australia. Tel: +61 2 9552 6022 Fax: +61 2 9960 1698.

Sentenced to exclusion

Committing a crime in the US often means lifelong deprivation of the right to vote. The US is the only Western state that still refuses to allow people to vote after their prison sentences – 14 American states impose permanent disenfranchisement on their felons. In total 3.9 million adults, two per cent of the population, are disenfranchised. But among African American men the national figure is 1.3 million – 13 per cent – while in the states of Alabama and Florida, a third of all black men have lost the right to vote. If present trends continue, Human Rights Watch predict that 30-40 per cent of the next generation of African American men will be permanently disenfranchised.

The Economist Vol 349 No 8091

MARK CARWARDINE / STILL PICTURES

Update

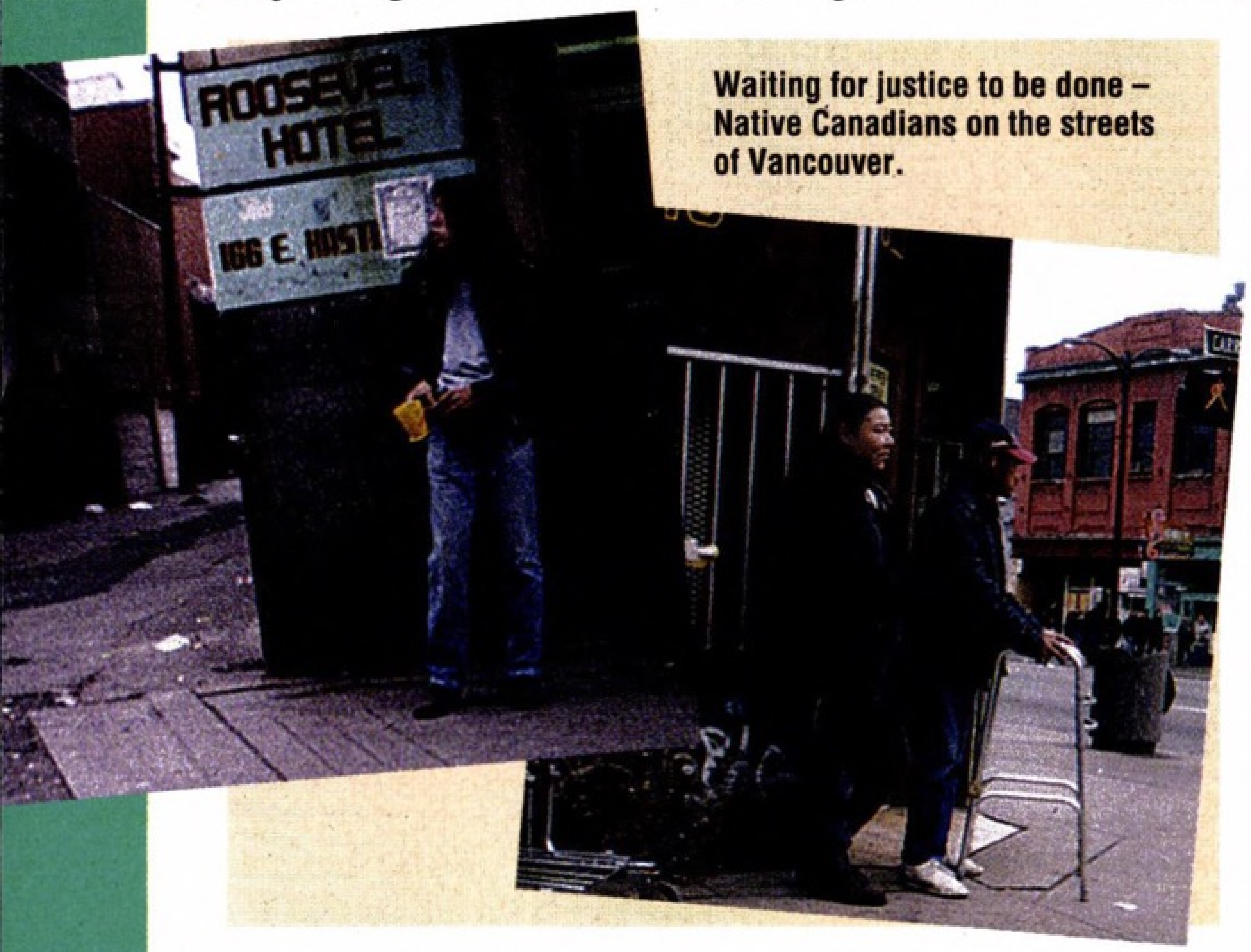
HUMAN RIGHTS

Disturbing revelations

Native Canadian nightmares see the light of day

UNITED Church minister Kevin Annett was puzzled to find no native members of St Andrew's Church when he arrived in Port Alberni, British Columbia, in 1992. Annett started asking local Native people why they had not attended church. Their answer – shocking stories of abuse and murder at the local church-run residential school.

As part of a government program of forced assimilation, Canadian Native children were taken from their homes and placed in residential schools which were operated by most of the major religions. It is estimated that up to 125,000 Native children passed through the system before it was closed down in the 1980s.


Waiting for justice to be done – Native Canadians on the streets of Vancouver.

KEVIN ANNETT

Now a tribunal has been established in British Columbia to investigate human-rights violations in the province's residential schools for Native children. So far over 30 people have given their eyewitness accounts.

The list of alleged offences is shocking. Eyewitness testimony and other evidence presented to the tribunal recount instances of murder by beating, poisoning, hanging, starvation, strangulation, being thrown from windows and medical experimentation. Other crimes include rape, sexual molestation and administering of electric shocks to children as young as five. Witnesses say that torture was used as punishment for speaking Aboriginal languages and Native men and women were involuntarily sterilized. They also allege church, police, business and government officials were involved in maintaining a paedophile ring using children from native reserves and residential schools.

Witnesses are regularly threatened and intimidated and Annett himself has received death threats. Annett was also fired from his job at the church. A recent suicide of abuse victim Darryl Watts, who had been badgered by Church lawyers, and the revelation that his parents never signed a release form to send him to the school led the United Church to issue 'apologies' to the survivors. At least 1,400 people are suing the Church and Government.

The tribunal eventually plans to publish its findings and present them to United Nations Human Rights Commissioner, Mary Robinson. Whatever happens at the UN, for the victims of these unimaginable horrors life can never be the same again.

Harriet Nahanee, 60, was the first witness to support the allegations about abuse and killings at the Alberni United Church school. She says she still has nightmares about the time she witnessed the death of a young girl who came from Nitinat Lake. 'I heard her crying. She was looking for her mother. I heard the school administrator yelling at the supervisor for letting the child run around on the stairwell. I heard him kick her and she fell down the stairs. I went to look – her eyes were open, she wasn't moving. I never saw her again.' ■

Alan Hughes

ACTION: **Kevin Annett, c/o 208-5775, Toronto Road, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6T 1X4. Tel: +1 604-734-4478 email: kdannett@interchange.ubc.ca**

AIDS risk

Condoms are no longer illegal in Vietnam which has the fastest growing rate of HIV and AIDS in Asia – the number of HIV infected people is expected to grow from the current 75,000 to over 300,000 by the year 2000. The government has allowed needle-exchanges for drug users, condom-distribution centres for prostitutes and trendy cafes in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh where coffees are served with a condom and safe sex booklet. But despite the increased access to condoms, Vietnam's patriarchal society remains a barrier to safer sex – a recent survey of rural women found that 100 percent said their husbands made all decisions on when to have sex and what protection, if any, to use.

Andrew Perrin/Gemini News Service

Moody buttons

Employees at the Icolub lubricants factory, a subsidiary of Shell in Brazil, have adopted an innovative way to tell their colleagues how they are feeling. Every morning they put a button on their uniform. A green button says everything is fine. A yellow button means that something is not going well, and a red button is a cry for help from someone with a 'serious problem'. 'If a guy is wearing a red, you'd better not even joke with him!' says the plant's co-ordinator. A red-button worker may be taken off the production line, assigned an easier job and offered the opportunity to telephone a psychologist, social worker, lawyer or financial-planning expert.

World Press Review Vol 45 No 2

Animal rivalry

One in three of the world's domestic animal breeds is at risk of extinction, according to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). In India 50 per cent of indigenous goats face extinction while an estimated 80 per cent of all poultry comes from exotic breeds. In Brazil the Caracu cattle were deemed unprofitable compared to an Indian breed which pushed the South American beast to near extinction. And in the Russian Federation there are only 900 of the the Yakut cattle left, animals which can tolerate temperatures of down to -60 degrees centigrade and is considered resistant to several diseases. 'You can't just bring genetics in from elsewhere and think they will be better,' laments Keith Hammond from the FAO, who describes the global fad to favour exotic breeds as 'a step backwards'.

SEAN SPRAGUE / PANOS PICTURES

Colonizers of Brazil – exotic breeds rule over domestic animals.

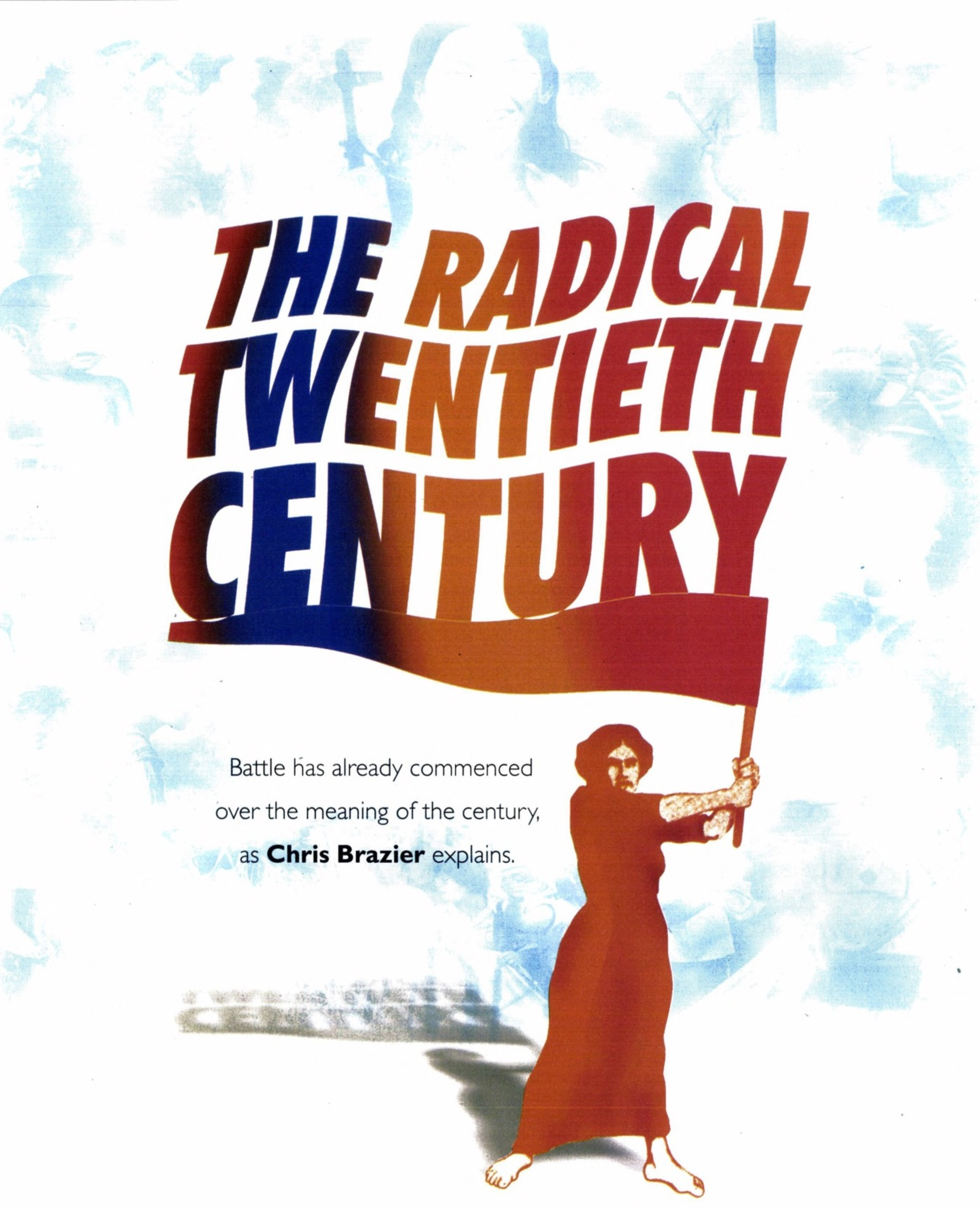
Alan Martin/Gemini News Service

Quote

‘A fur hat is no good on an empty stomach.’

Vladimir Ivanov, owner of a Moscow hat stall.

THE RADICAL TWENTIETH CENTURY



Battle has already commenced over the meaning of the century, as **Chris Brazier** explains.

A century, like a work of art, has as many meanings as the observer wishes to project on to it. It is worth reminding ourselves of this now since, as 1999 wears on, the noise of people pronouncing upon the meaning of the century is likely to become cacophonous. Most of them will not issue an accompanying health warning – an admission that their view is partial, that it emerges from their own personal and political agenda, and that the meaning of the twentieth century is contested ground.

Indeed the dominant voice likely to emerge from the cacophony, like the megaphone that was the quaint tool of political campaigning in the first half of the century, will undoubtedly see the century as a battleground in which the forces of light and truth triumphed.

This megaphone, now doubtless rendered in perfect digital sound quality, has already started pumping up the propaganda level. The *New Internationalist* is not wont to offer a platform for the views of *Time* magazine, which has quite enough pages and readers without any help from us. But it is worth quoting at some length from *Time*'s first attempt at distilling the meaning of the twentieth century because its unabashed triumphalism is so extreme and so illuminating.

According to *Time*, this was:

'The century of freedom

If you had to pick a two-word summation, it would be: freedom won. It beat back the two totalitarian alternatives that arose to challenge it, fascism and communism. By the 1990s, the ideals developed by centuries of philosophers from Plato to Locke to Mill to Jefferson – individual rights, civil liberties, personal freedoms and democratic participation in the choice of leaders – held sway over more than half the world's population.'

It was also, *Time* believes:

'The century of capitalism

Democracy can exist without capitalism, and capitalism without democracy, but probably not for very long. Political and economic freedom tend to go together. Early in the century, Theodore Roosevelt laid the foundation for a government-guided free market, one that encouraged individual initiative while protecting people against cartels and the colder faces of capitalism. His cousin Franklin confronted capitalism's greatest challenge, the Great Depression, by following these principles. Half a world away, Lenin laid the groundwork for a command economy, and his successor, Stalin, showed how brutal it could be. They ended up on the ash heap of history.'

More illuminating still, it was, for *Time*:

'The American Century

Some countries base their foreign policy on realism or its Prussian-accented cousin, realpolitik: a cold and careful calculation of strategic interests. America is unique in that it is equally motivated by idealism. Whether it is the fight against fascism or communism, or even misconceived interventions like Vietnam, America's mission is to further not only its interests but also its values. And that idealist streak is a source of its global influence, even more than its battleships.'

The unshakeable complacency is extraordinary. The multifarious struggles of the world's people for greater control over their own lives, for decent standards of health, education, nutrition, for social justice, for peace and civil rights, are here reduced to one central story: the ultimate victory of the particular model of democracy and capitalism patented and promoted by the United States of America.

There is another view of US foreign policy which might be thought rather closer to the mark than *Time*'s, one memorably characterized by the eminent playwright Harold Pinter as 'Do as we say – or else.' But let's leave that aside for now.

The important thing to recognize is that *Time* and its Murdochian media allies are already working hard to represent the primary meaning of the century as residing in the victory of capitalism over communism in the Cold War between 1945 and 1990. Early in the 1990s some American pundits began crowing about 'the end of history' – they meant by this that the collapse of the Soviet Union had proved the inadequacy of any alternative model to capitalism, which would thereafter rule unchallenged for all eternity.

The unlikelihood of this notion will strike anyone who has even the smallest knowledge of history. Empires seem eternal when they are at their height but they always contain the seeds of their own decay. The American Empire, riven with agonizing self-doubt only two decades ago in the wake of defeat in Vietnam and Nixon's Watergate disgrace, is nothing like as qualified to feel secure as, say, imperial Rome at the beginning of the first millennium of the Christian era.

Slavish adulation at a 1930s Hitler Youth rally. The Nazis thrived due to the viciousness of the World War One peace terms.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES / CORBIS

It is precisely this absence of any sense of history which is one of the most worrying things about the end of our century. I have a friend who considers that there is no point in reading anything written before about 1960. He feels that anything written since then will contain any necessary wisdom from the past and will screen out for him all 'unnecessary' information and archaic preoccupations. I used to see him as an oddity, an aberration. But as the consumerist culture of instantaneous gratification takes ever deeper hold, as traditional wisdom is swept aside by the bulldozers of globalization, as history in schools becomes just an aspect of 'the humanities' rather than a core subject, the tables have turned. I am beginning to think my own interest in what we can learn from history to be the real oddity.

History's lessons can be vital and the Washington triumphalists should have been the first to take heed of one lesson in particular. There have been three world wars in this century, two of them extremely hot and one which thankfully remained Cold. The first of those wars produced the second as certainly and inevitably as night follows day. When the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were imposed on the German losers in 1919, mainly out of the understandable bitterness of the French, whose country had been occupied and ravaged beyond recognition, it made an even greater whirlwind inevitable. This was recognized at the time by British Prime Minister Lloyd George, who said the terms and reparations demanded were so harsh that 'we shall have to fight another war all over again in 25 years at three times the cost'. The economist John Maynard Keynes, meanwhile, predicted that the peace treaty would depress European economies to starvation point.

The crippling terms exacted at Versailles duly produced hyper-inflation, destroyed Germany's Weimar Republic and created the circumstances in which Hitler's vicious scapegoat-hunting ideology could flourish. And Hitler was not alone: one of the most terrifying things about journeying through the events of the century to research this magazine has been to experience anew the 1930s and see country after country fall to fascist 'strong men'. After the Second World War the lesson had been learned and US aid via the Marshall Plan reconstructed Western Europe, effectively creating the conditions for the Golden Age of economic boom between 1950 and 1975.

But by the time the Cold War was over and it was time for the victorious West to dictate terms to a crumbling post-Communist empire, all the lessons of Versailles were forgotten. All was triumphalism. There could be no mercy for the losers. A system of free enterprise without controls was imposed on the new East European states and Russia, the like of which had never been tried before, even at the heart of the capitalist world. The US, for all its bleating about free trade, remains instinctively protectionist. Its own response to severe economic depression in the 1930s, as even *Time*'s worldview acknowledges between the lines, was to invest in

How are the mighty fallen. Russians at Kursky soup kitchen, suffering under the post-Cold War 'peace terms'.

LASKI DIFFUSION / GAMMA

Federal programmes involving strong state intervention and the introduction of a welfare safety net under Roosevelt's New Deal. Even the fundamentalist crusade of Margaret Thatcher in Britain between 1979 and 1991 left intact many key elements of the old welfare state.

Russia and its satellite states, however, were not to be allowed such props – here the free market had to reign in all its magnificent implacability. Right-wing economists like Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs were sent in as consultants to ensure that the rules were followed and no soft options adopted. The glorious results of this 'peace settlement' were manifest last year, following the collapse of the rouble, in the sight of Russians begging for food in the streets in scenes that might have embarrassed even Tsar Nicholas II. The resurgence of extremist nationalism and fascism in Russia and Eastern Europe may yet be harbingers of another whirlwind that will engulf us all.

The freedom-fighters and the Fenians, the terrorists and the tortured, became the statespeople and the saints

History, then, is important, and the lessons of this century need to be carried into the next rather than lost in the babble of the information age with its indefatigable pursuit of 'now'. But if the *Time* magazine version of the twentieth century is one that should be challenged, what should be put in its place? There are a multitude of such histories to be written. But the one this issue of *New Internationalist* chooses to advance – wearing its partiality on its sleeve – emphasizes the place of social and political resistance in human progress.

The whole notion of 'progress' is problematic, something to which I will return at the end of this magazine. But in most areas of progress and democratic rights, where we are sure we are 'farther on' in the year 2000 than we were in 1900, we owe it to the politics of dissent. We have only advanced because people have stood up to the dominant worldview, chancing their arms and their hearts in the struggle against oppression, in the aspiration for a true liberty or equality.

Two cases demonstrate this with absolute clarity. In 1900 the idea that all women should have the right to vote was one held only by a tiny minority considered to be on the lunatic fringe. In all the world, with odd exceptions such as New Zealand and the US state of Wyoming, men were complacent in their monopoly of the political process. When the battle for the vote was first joined in earnest, in Edwardian Britain, the term 'battle' was no rhetorical exaggeration. This was a campaign of a ferocity that would probably surprise people misled by sepia photographs of suffragettes in prim middle-class hats and dresses. In the militant suffragette campaigns – from bombings of male politicians' country houses to vandalizations of famous paintings, from smashing the windows of public buildings to hunger strikes while in prison – one can see many of the tactics of modern 'terrorism', though their targets were generally property rather than human lives.

At the end of the century we are still far from political equality, and women's rights still need promoting and defending by a feminist movement that has from the first been global in scope, as Urvashi Butalia shows on Page 18. But the idea of women's right to political participation has been unchallenged and unchallengeable in most of the world for decades, even if Switzerland only conceded in 1971 and the Afghanistan of the Taliban has reneged today.

Something similar might be said about the idea that people of colour might be capable of self-rule – an apparent absurdity in the colonial world of 1900. The notion of African liberation, in particular, had barely rippled the surface: the first Pan-African Congress was, it is true, held in London in 1900, but it had no delegates from the African continent itself, only from the diaspora. Yet, as the century ends, no-one in their right minds would suggest that Africans or Indians should not rule themselves and even the bitter, long-festering wound of apartheid South Africa has at last been treated.

There is certainly a good case for saying that the anti-colonial struggle has been far from won, that direct rule by white men in pith helmets has been traded for indirect dominion by white men in pinstripes – a case examined in the light of long experience by Julius Nyerere and Ikaweba Bunting on Page 12. But the principle of self-rule, so extreme and marginal in 1900, so reviled by the authorities in the India of the 1930s, the Kenya of the 1950s or the South Africa of the 1970s, is now part of the established pattern of our world. The freedom-fighters and the Fenians, the terrorists and the tortured, became the statespeople and the saints – from Michael Collins right through to Nelson Mandela.

The 'march of history' does not have only one drumbeat. At every point in the century it has been taken down side-alleys by seditionaries and run up against the barricades of dissent. **The Radical Twentieth Century** celebrates the contribution to our collective heritage of the Resistance – while also looking for signposts on the road ahead. ■

A bunch of fives

From big ideas to ridiculous wars – the century in lists of five.

5 non-violent direct actions

Suffragette chainings
Women campaigning for the vote in Edwardian Britain chained themselves to railings outside places of power.

The Salt March
Gandhi's 380-kilometre mass march to the sea to make salt in protest at the salt monopoly of the British colonial government in India, 1930.

Mothers of the Disappeared
In Argentina, Chile and now in Turkey, mothers of people murdered by repressive regimes have demonstrated on the same day every week for years.

Peace marches
All over the world in the 1980s, the sheer numbers of anti-nuclear demonstrators made a difference.

Greenpeace voyages
From the Arctic to the Pacific, small boats have sailed into the teeth of the Dragon.

5 martyrs

Amilcar Cabral
Inspirational revolutionary from Guinea-Bissau, assassinated just before independence in 1973.

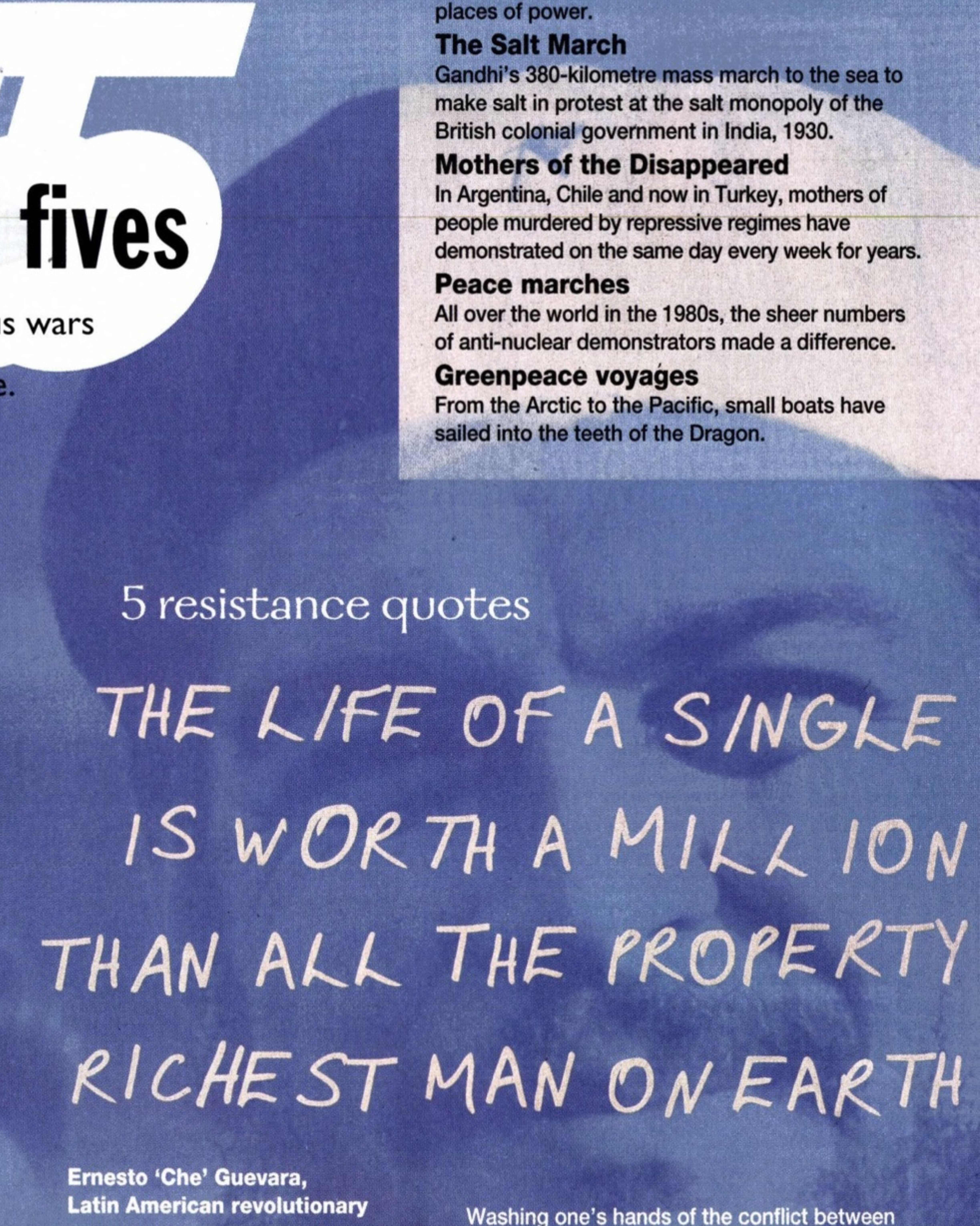
Yitzhak Katzenelson
Poet and friend of the Halutz Underground resistance to the Nazis in the Warsaw Ghetto, murdered in Auschwitz in 1944.

Rosa Luxemburg
Socialist who led the abortive German Revolution and was murdered by paramilitaries in 1918.

Chico Mendes
Union activist among Amazon indigenous people and rubber tappers, murdered by landed interests in 1988.

Fernando Pereira
Photographer killed when French secret-service agents blew up the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* in 1985.

5 resistance quotes



THE LIFE OF A SINGLE IS WORTH A MILLION THAN ALL THE PROPERTY RICHEST MAN ON EARTH

Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, Latin American revolutionary

Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral.

Paulo Freire, Brazilian educator

When the white man came we had the land and they had the Bible. They taught us to pray with our eyes closed and when we opened them, they had the land and we had the Bible.

Jomo Kenyatta, who led Kenya to independence

There are very few jobs that actually require a penis or a vagina. All other jobs should be open to everybody.

Florynce R Kennedy, US civil-rights activist

It is better to die on your feet than live on your knees.

Emiliano Zapata, Mexican revolutionary

5 unfulfilled national dreams

Kurdistan
Occupied by Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria.

Tibet
Occupied by China since 1950.

East Timor
Occupied by Indonesia since 1975.

Palestine
Occupied by Israel since 1948.

Western Sahara
Occupied by Morocco since 1975.

5 fulfilled national dreams

Israel
Created in 1948.

Vietnam
Reunited after the US War in 1975.

Namibia
Liberated from apartheid South Africa in 1990.

The Baltic states
Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, liberated from the Soviet Union in 1991.

Eritrea
Liberated from Ethiopia in 1993.

5 BIG IDEAS THAT DID BIG DAMAGE

Fascism
The first new political philosophy of the 20th century – and the worst.

Nuclear energy
From Hiroshima to Chernobyl, it has a lot to answer for.

Mega-dams
Still being built, despite all the environmental evidence.

Structural adjustment
It may be simplistic, schoolchild economics, but that hasn't stopped Washington imposing it on most of the Majority World.

'Ethnic cleansing'
Actually the most small-minded, savage idea, which has afflicted the Armenians, the Jews and the Bosnians, to name but three.

5 big ideas whose day will come

Sustainability
Green economics and new patterns of living.

Debt jubilee
If only to look after its own long-term interest, the West must soon lift the debt noose from the necks of the poor.

A UN independent of the US
There will ultimately be no UN otherwise.

Tobin Tax
The tax on foreign-exchange transactions that would transform the global economy.

United States of Africa
Common interests and self-defence.

5 dangerous corporations

Newscorp
Rupert Murdoch's vehicle for world domination.

Nestlé
Still guilty of pushing artificial babymilk to Majority World mothers after all these years.

Monsanto
The cutting edge in genetic mutilation of food.

Philip Morris
Its tobacco still causes disease but it is now spreading its tentacles into food.

Global Climate Coalition
A club of transnationals which works to stall action on global warming; its board members include Chevron, Chrysler, Exxon, Ford, General Motors, Mobil and Texaco.

HUMAN BEING
TIMES MORE
OF THE

5 RIDICULOUS WARS

Boer War
Where Churchill made his name and the concentration camp was born.

World War One
Still the epitome of military futility.

Iran-Iraq
An eight-year war over nothing that cost 500,000 lives.

Falklands/Malvinas
Collision between Argentine dictatorship and the last writhings of the British Empire.

Football War
The 1969 war between Honduras and El Salvador sparked by a World Cup soccer match between the two countries.

5 classic resistance texts

The Second Sex
Simone de Beauvoir

Open Veins of Latin America
Eduardo Galeano

Pedagogy of the Oppressed
Paulo Freire

The Wretched of the Earth
Frantz Fanon

Monopoly Capital
Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy

5 nominees for the Hitler/Stalin Tyranny Prize

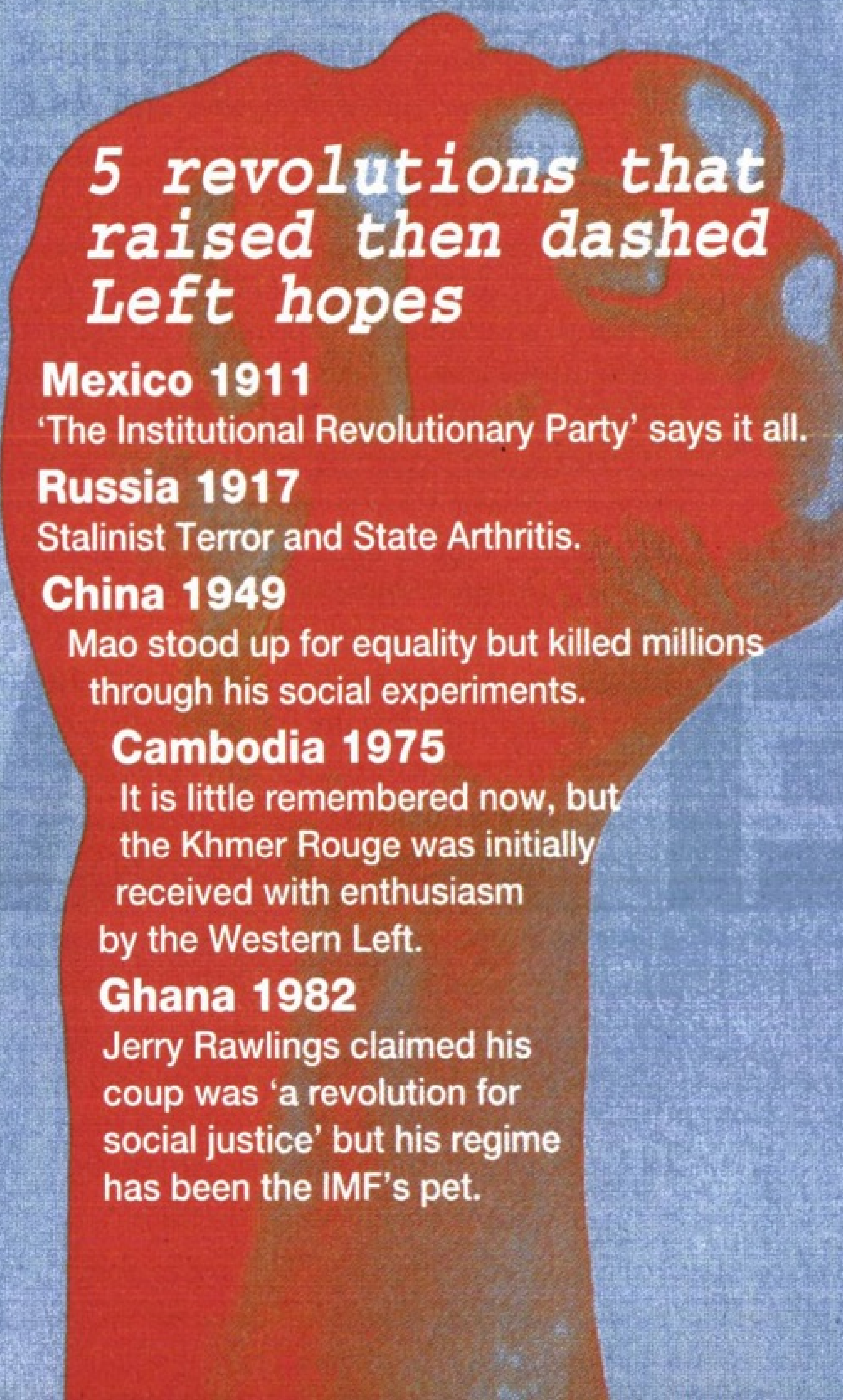
King Leopold II of Belgium
No paternalistic nonsense about a 'civilizing mission' here. Until 1908 the Congo was his personal province and playground whose people existed only to produce rubber.

General Augusto Pinochet
Chile's dictator wrote the most brutal chapter in Latin America's recent history, breaking new ground in torture and right-wing economics .

Mobutu Sese Seko
Unlucky Congo has two of its rulers as nominees. His ruthlessness a byword, Mobutu stole over $4,000 million in his 32 years in power.

Pol Pot (Saloth Sar)
Unleashed a holocaust on the Cambodian people; 1.5 million died in his chilling attempt to design a new society without cities or education.

Idi Amin Dada
The most notorious of Africa's dictators was no joke to the estimated 250,000 tortured and killed during his nine-year rule of Uganda.



5 revolutions that raised then dashed Left hopes

Mexico 1911
'The Institutional Revolutionary Party' says it all.

Russia 1917
Stalinist Terror and State Arthritis.

China 1949
Mao stood up for equality but killed millions through his social experiments.

Cambodia 1975
It is little remembered now, but the Khmer Rouge was initially received with enthusiasm by the Western Left.

Ghana 1982
Jerry Rawlings claimed his coup was 'a revolution for social justice' but his regime has been the IMF's pet.

5 environmental disasters

Chernobyl
The explosion of the Soviet nuclear reactor in Ukraine in 1986 which made 10,000 square kilometres uninhabitable and gave at least 21,000 Western Europeans fatal cancers.

Bhopal
The explosion in an Indian chemical plant of the US-based transnational, Union Carbide in 1984; 2,500 died immediately while at least 50,000 suffered long-term damage.

The Aral Sea
As much a polluted dustbowl as a sea now, thanks to the irrigation and pesticides of the Soviet cotton industry.

Western transport policy
Or lack of one - 'they paved paradise and put up a parking lot'.

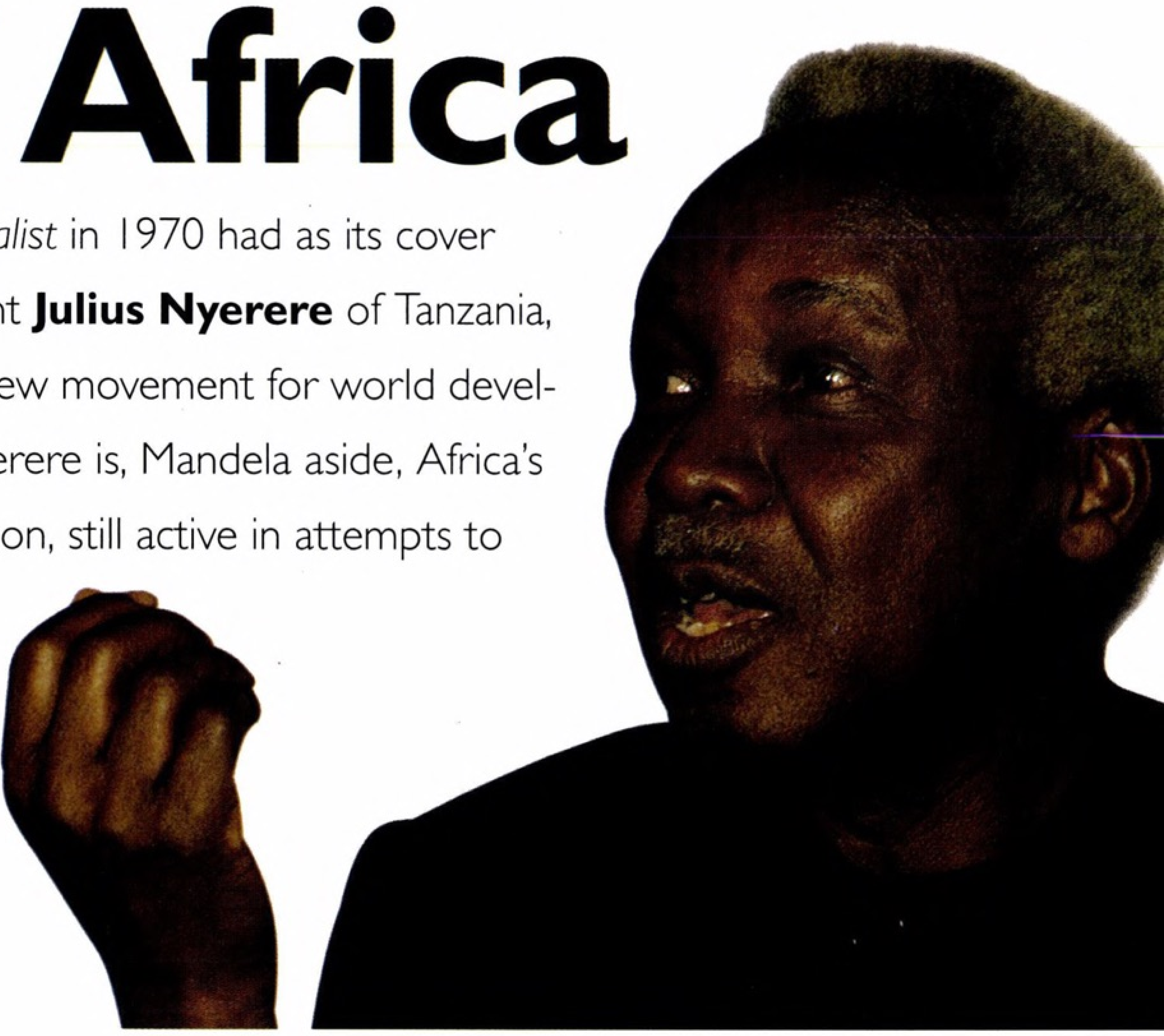
The god of economic growth
Before which all but the Greenest few still bow down.

THE RADICAL TWENTIETH CENTURY

ANTI-COLONIALISM

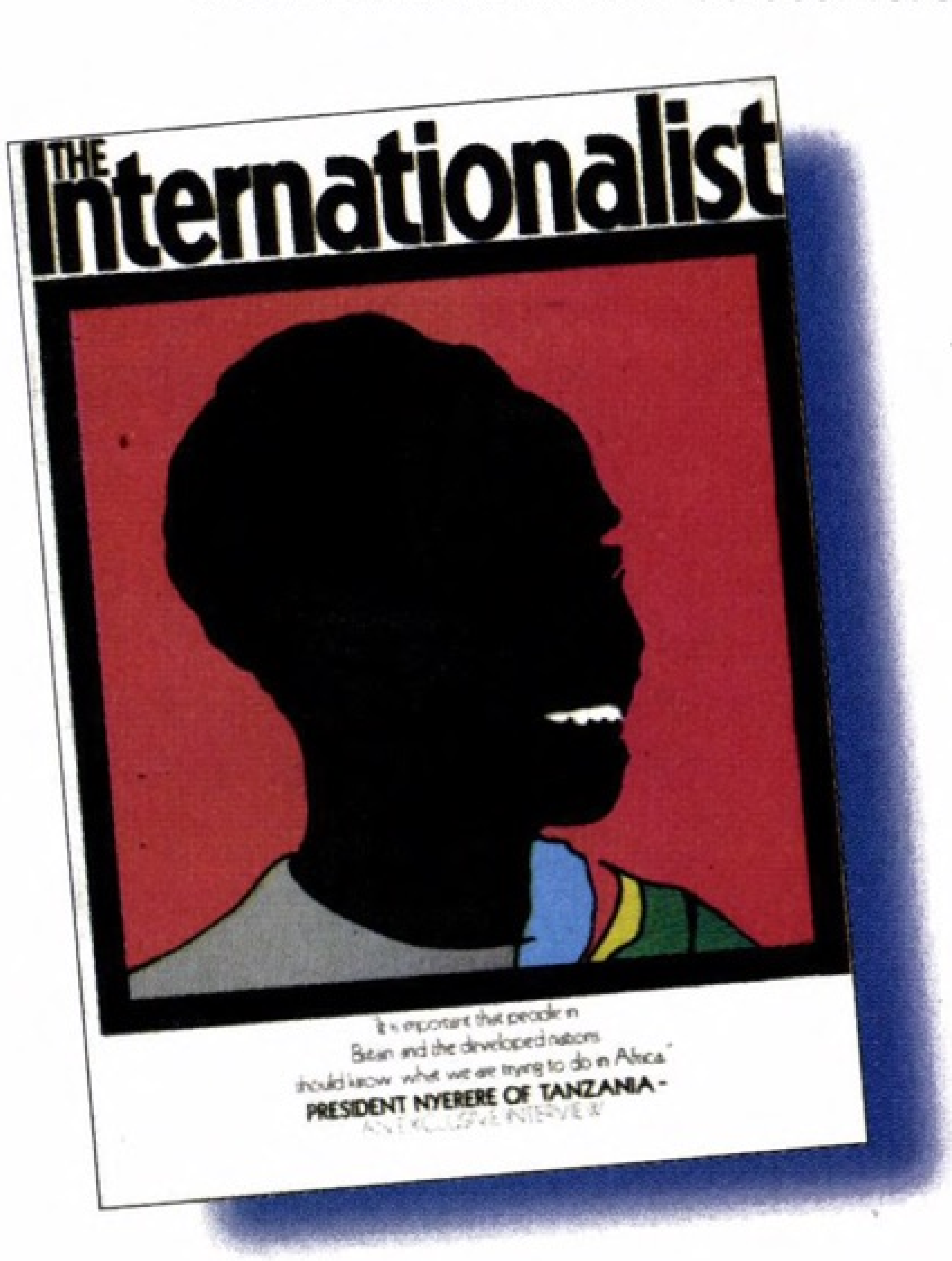
The **heart** of **Africa**

The first issue of *The Internationalist* in 1970 had as its cover story an interview with President **Julius Nyerere** of Tanzania, then at the very centre of the new movement for world development. Three decades on, Nyerere is, Mandela aside, Africa's most respected elder statesperson, still active in attempts to resolve the current conflicts in Burundi and DR Congo. No-one is better placed to look back on the anti-colonial century. **Ikaweba Bunting** interviewed him for the **NI**.


ANNA TULLY / FRANK SPOONER

The briefings and consultations at the Burundi peace negotiations in Arusha, Tanzania, had been going on all day. It was now seven in the evening and we had been at it non-stop for more than 12 hours. This was a tedious and demanding task, listening to each party go through their interpretation of history and presenting their case. There was a lot of repetition, political manoeuvring and tension. Patience was a most valuable asset.

The very first issue of student magazine *The Internationalist* from October 1970.


THE Internationalist
"It is important that people in
Britain and the developed nations
should know what we are trying to do in Africa"
PRESIDENT NYERERE OF TANZANIA -
AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

I was beginning to feel the enormity of the task coupled with the strain of such an intense process – and all I had been doing was taking notes. So I knew that a 76-year-old man in the eye of the storm had to be exhausted. But he showed no sign of it.

The old man, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere – former President of Tanzania and one of Africa's most revered twentieth-century leaders – had been asked by the Organization of African Unity to act as Facilitator, getting the warring parties in Burundi to negotiate a political settlement. I remember that he had a studied reluctance before accepting the task. But since he undertook the work he has never shown a trace of doubt that a negotiated and equitable peace would be achieved. And, as the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) evolves, overtures are being made to involve him in seeking a political solution – he is felt to be the only person who could talk to all sides involved in the conflict and to whom they might all listen.

Now, at the end of this exhausting day, a discussion began on the current war in the DRC. Mwalimu became animated. He began to elaborate on the political implications of the wars in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa (see box on Page 41).

He was very disturbed by the growing belligerence of the countries involved and the increase in mass murders. He expressed particular concern about the persecution of the Batutsi based on the mythical racial theory that categorizes them as Hamitic, Caucasian black people who must be exterminated because of their sinister plans to rule Africa. He said he felt a tinge of embarrassment because he had boasted only months earlier that Africa was entering a new era and managing its own problems. 'Now the stupidity of fighting over this big forest is going to set us back. Mobutu always gave us problems but we never fought over the Congo.'

Some of the senior members of the team begged their leave but I stayed, soaking up as much as I could, aware that moments like these are jewels to be treasured. Finally he exclaimed: 'We are going to have to think about this some more and consider what can be done to stop this awful killing and get some kind of peace in our region.' I could tell by his tone and body language that this meant 'good night'. As I was leaving, Mwalimu – the word means 'teacher' and has been Nyerere's respectful title among Tanzanians for decades – called me back to say: 'You have to get your Pan-African Working Group together and start tackling this problem; let's arrange another meeting.'

It has been my privilege to be associated with Mwalimu Nyerere for the past 25 years. During a visit to Harlem, New York, in the late 1960s Mwalimu extended an invitation to Africans in the Diaspora to come to Tanzania and participate in building a socialist African state. I came over through a new organization called the Pan-African Skills project and have lived in Tanzania ever since, for a quarter of the century.

Nyerere's Tanzania was a magnet then for anti-colonial activists and thinkers from all over the world. Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, for instance, was deeply influenced by his time as a student at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Museveni belonged to a study group led by the Guyanan Walter Rodney, who wrote his seminal book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* while he was a professor there.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam became the centre for the guerrilla-intellectuals and activists of African liberation movements. FRELIMO of Mozambique, the ANC and PAC of South Africa, ZANU and ZAPU of Zimbabwe, the MPLA of Angola and SWAPO of Namibia all had offices and training camps in Tanzania. The country also gave safe haven to US civil-rights activists, Black Panther party-members and Vietnam War resisters.

It was an exciting place to be. Under a head of state who valued equal rights, justice and development more than the pomp and power of office, Tanzania was at the heart of the anti-colonial struggle.

Over the years I have often been able to sit with Mwalimu and reflect on Africa's struggles for self-determination and development. Now, in December 1998, prompted by the *New Internationalist* special issue on *The Radical Twentieth Century*, Mwalimu Nyerere and I sat down over two days at his home in Butiama, Tanzania, and reflected on his role over the past 50 years as an activist and statesperson in the anti-colonial cause.

What was the anti-colonial movement's greatest contribution to humanity?

‘There are two fundamental things that the anti-colonial liberation movement contributed to humanity. The first is simply that the suffering of a whole chunk of human beings through the actions of others was halted. The arrogance of one group of people in lording it over the human race and exploiting the poorer peoples was challenged and discredited – and that was a positive contribution made by the liberation struggle to all humanity.

Second, the liberation movement was very moral. It was not simply liberation in a vacuum. Gandhi argued a moral case and so did I. Liberation freed white people also. Take South Africa: there, the anti-apartheid victory freed whites as well as black people.’

When did you first encounter the idea of liberation from colonialism?

‘I cannot say I encountered the idea of liberation in a totality like a flash of light. I did not have an experience like Paul on the road to Damascus. For me it was a process – something that grew inside of me. Our elders fought and were defeated by the Germans and the British. We were born under colonialism. Some of us never questioned it. Those who got educated began to think about it. What many of us went through was simply a desire to be accepted by the white man. At first this is what it was – a kind of inert dissatisfaction that we were not accepted as equals.

World War Two and what it was fought for – democracy and freedom – started the process for many people, especially those who were in the Army. For me the transformation came later. At Makerere in 1943 I started something called the Tanganyika African Welfare Association. Its main purpose was not political or anti-colonial. We wanted to improve the lives of Africans. But inside us something was happening.

I wrote an essay in 1944 called *The Freedom of Women.* I must be honest and say I was influenced by John Stuart Mill, who had written about the subjugation of women. My father had 22 wives and I knew how hard they had to work and what they went through as women. Here in this essay I was moving towards the idea of freedom theoretically. But I was still in the mindset of improving the lives and welfare of Africans: I went to Tabora to start teaching.

Then came Indian independence. The significance of India's independence movement was that it shook the British Empire. When Gandhi succeeded I think it made the British lose the will to cling to empire. But it was events in Ghana in 1949 that fundamentally changed my attitude. When Kwame Nkrumah was released from prison this produced a transformation. I was in Britain and oh you could see it in the Ghanaians! They became different human beings, different from all the rest of us! This thing of freedom began growing inside all of us. First India in 1947, then Ghana in 1949. Ghana became independent six years later. Under the influence of these events, while at university in Britain, I made up my mind to be a full-time political activist when I went back home. I intended to work for three years and then launch into politics. But it happened sooner than I planned.’

Independence came in 1961, and Nyerere became President. Six years later, he

JULIUS NYERERE: AN ANTI-COLONIAL LIFE

1922 Julius Nyerere is born in Butiama, near Lake Victoria, son of a petty chief of the Zanaki people.

1943 Launches the Tanganyika African Welfare Association while at Makerere University in Uganda.

1948 Studies history and economics at Edinburgh University; first Tanganyikan at a British university.

1951 Returns home to Tanganyika and becomes a teacher or *mwalimu.*

1954 Launches the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

1955 Visits UN headquarters in New York to press for independence.

1960 Finally agrees terms with Britain and becomes chief minister of the colony.

1961 Becomes first Prime Minister of an independent Tanganyika. He promotes Kiswahili as a national language and prioritizes literacy and education. He also gives unconditional support to liberation movements in neighbouring countries such as FRELIMO in Mozambique.

1963 Nyerere is a prime mover in the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

1964 Zanzibar unites with Tanganyika to become the Republic of Tanzania, with Nyerere as President.

1967 The Arusha Declaration lays out Tanzania's commitment to socialism and self-reliance. It prioritizes agriculture under a form of communal land ownership traditionally known in Kiswahili as *ujamaa* (literally 'family-hood').

COMPLETE
INDEPENDENCE
1961

CAMERA PRESS / SAM TURNER

1977 Nyerere's ruling party merges with Zanzibar's Afro-Shirazi Party to become the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The East African Economic Community of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda is dissolved.

1978 Tanzania is invaded by troops of the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin and responds by giving military help to the Ugandan resistance that overthrows him.

1985 Nyerere retires as President, handing over to Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

1986 Nyerere becomes head of the South-South Commission in Geneva which aims to strengthen Third World unity.

1996 The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation is established in Dar-es-Salaam, working to promote peace, unity and people-centred development throughout Africa and the world.

1998 Nyerere is asked by the OAU to act as Facilitator trying to resolve the conflict in Burundi.

issued the Arusha Declaration, which nailed Tanzania's colours firmly to the mast of socialism and self-reliance. The great Caribbean historian CLR James once called the Arusha Declaration 'the highest stage of resistance ever reached by revolting Blacks'.

Does the Arusha Declaration still stand up today?

“I still travel around with it. I read it over and over to see what I would change. Maybe I would improve on the Kiswahili that was used but the Declaration is still valid: I would not change a thing. Tanzania had been independent for a short time before we began to see a growing gap between the haves and the have-nots in our country. A privileged group was emerging from the political leaders and bureaucrats who had been poor under colonial rule but were now beginning to use their positions in the Party and the Government to enrich themselves. This kind of development would alienate the leadership from the people. So we articulated a new national objective: we stressed that development is about all our people and not just a small and privileged minority.

The Arusha Declaration was what made Tanzania distinctly Tanzania. We stated what we stood for, we laid down a code of conduct for our leaders and we made an effort to achieve our goals. This was obvious to all, even if we made mistakes – and when one tries anything new and uncharted there are bound to be mistakes.

The Arusha Declaration and our democratic single-party system, together with our national language, Kiswahili, and a highly politicized and disciplined national army, transformed more than 126 different tribes into a cohesive and stable nation.

However, despite this achievement, they say we failed in Tanzania, that we floundered. But did we? We must say no. We can't deny everything we accomplished. There are some of my friends who we did not allow to get rich; now they are getting rich and they say 'See, we are getting rich now, so you were wrong'. But what kind of answer is that?

The floundering of socialism has been global. This is what needs an explanation, not just the Tanzanian part of it. George Bernard Shaw, who was an atheist, said, 'You cannot say Christianity has failed because it has never been tried.' It is the same with socialism: you cannot say it has failed because it has never been tried.”

Days of hope. East Africa's leaders Julius Nyerere, Milton Obote of Uganda and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya in 1964.

UPI / CORBIS-BETTMANN

After independence you pursued an African socialism while in Kenya Jomo Kenyatta embraced a more conservative nationalism. The two of you came to symbolize opposing visions of development. Were you conscious at the time of the need to chart a different course that might inspire other new African nations?

“Anti-colonialism was a nationalist movement. For me liberation and unity were the most important things. I have always said that I was African first and socialist second. I would rather see a free and united Africa before a fragmented socialist Africa. I did not preach socialism. I made this distinction deliberately so as not to divide the country. The majority in the anti-colonial struggle were nationalist. There was a minority who argued that class was the central issue, that white workers were as exploited as black workers by capitalism. They wanted to approach liberation in purely Marxist terms. However, in South Africa white workers oppressed black workers. It was more than class and I saw that.

Jomo Kenyatta was clearly capitalist and we were trying a different course. But I must confess I did not see myself as charting out something for the rest of Africa. One picks one's way. I never saw the contradictions that would prevent Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania from working together. I was naïve, I guess. Even now for me freedom and unity are paramount.

I respected Jomo (Kenyatta) immensely. It has probably never happened before in history. Two heads of state, Milton Obote [Uganda's leader] and I, went to Jomo and said to him: 'let's unite our countries and you be our head of state'. He said no. I think he said no because it would have put him out of his element as a Kikuyu Elder.”

In 1990 you were quoted as saying that you thought the absence of an opposition party had contributed to the Tanzanian ruling party's abandonment of its commitments. Do you think it was a mistake for so many new African nations to opt for a one-party state?

“I never advocated this for everyone. But I did for Tanzania because of our circumstances then. In 1990 the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) abandoned the one-party state for a multi-party system. But we do not have an opposition. The point I was making when I made the statement was that any party that stays in power too long becomes corrupt. The Communist Party in the Soviet Union, the CCM of Tanzania and the Conservative Party of Britain all stayed in power too long and became corrupt. This is especially so if the opposition is too weak or non-existent.”

What were your main mistakes as Tanzanian leader? What should you have done differently?

“There are things that I would have done more firmly or not at all. For example, I would not nationalize the sisal plantations. This was a mistake. I did not realize how difficult it would be for the state to manage agriculture. Agriculture is difficult to socialize. I tried to tell my government that what was traditionally the family's in the village social organization should be left with the family, while what was new could be communalized at the village level. The land issue and family holdings were very sensitive. I saw this intellectually but it was hard to translate it into policy implementation. But I still think that in the end

The wasteland. Bujumbura, Burundi, in 1996: scene of another ethnic massacre. Nyerere is working to stop it happening again.

PAULA A SCULLY/ GAMMA LIAISON / FRANK SPOONER

Tanzania will return to the values and basic principles of the Arusha Declaration. ”

Why did your attempt to find a new way founder on the rocks?

“ I was in Washington last year. At the World Bank the first question they asked me was ‘how did you fail?’ I responded that we took over a country with 85 per cent of its adult population illiterate. The British ruled us for 43 years. When they left, there were 2 trained engineers and 12 doctors. This is the country we inherited.

When I stepped down there was 91-per-cent literacy and nearly every child was in school. We trained thousands of engineers and doctors and teachers.

At the World Bank they asked me ‘how did you fail?’ In 1988, I responded, Tanzania’s per-capita income was $280. Now, in 1998, it is $140. Yet in those ten years Tanzania has done everything the IMF and the World Bank wanted. So I asked the World Bank people: ‘what went wrong?’

In 1988 Tanzania’s per-capita income was $280. Now, in 1998, it is $140. So I asked the World Bank people what went wrong. Because for the last ten years Tanzania has been signing on the dotted line and doing everything the IMF and the World Bank wanted. Enrolment in school has plummeted to 63 per cent and conditions in health and other social services have deteriorated. I asked them again: ‘what went wrong?’ These people just sat there looking at me. Then they asked what could they do? I told them have some humility. Humility – they are so arrogant! ”

Do you think Third World independence actually suited the industrialized world, leaving it with the economic power but without the political responsibility?

“ It seems that independence of the former colonies has suited the interests of the industrial world for bigger profits at less cost. Independence made it cheaper for them to exploit us. We became neo-colonies. Some African leaders did not realize it. In fact many argued against Kwame (Nkrumah)’s idea of neo-colonialism.

The majority of countries in Africa and the rest of the South are hamstrung by debt, by the IMF. We have too much debt now. It is a heavy burden, a trap. It is debilitating. We must have a new chance. If we doubled our production and debt-servicing capabilities we would still have no money for anything extra like education or development. It is immoral. It is an affront.

The conditions and policies of the World Bank and the IMF are to enable countries to pay debt not to develop. That is all! Let us argue the moral case. Let us create a new liberation movement to free us from immoral debt and neo-colonialism. This is one way forward. The other way is through Pan-African unity. ”

Should African resistance movements have embraced Pan-Africanism more readily? Do you think we should be working now towards a federal United States of Africa?

“ Kwame Nkrumah and I were committed to the idea of unity. African leaders and heads of state did not take Kwame seriously. However, I did. I did not believe in these small little nations. Still today I do not believe in them. I tell our people to look at the European Union, at these people who ruled us who are now uniting.

Kwame and I met in 1963 and discussed African Unity. We differed on how to achieve a United States of Africa. But we both agreed on a United States of Africa as necessary. Kwame went to Lincoln University, a black college in the US. He perceived things from the perspective of US history, where the 13 colonies that revolted against the British formed a union. That is what he thought the OAU should do.

I tried to get East Africa to unite before independence. When we failed in this I was wary about Kwame’s continental approach. We corresponded profusely on this. Kwame said my idea of ‘regionalization’ was only balkanization on a larger scale. Later African historians will have to study our correspondence on this issue of uniting Africa.

Africans who studied in the US like Nkrumah and [Nigerian independence leader] Azikiwe were more aware of the Diaspora and the global African community than those of us who studied in Britain. They were therefore aware of a wider Pan-Africanism. Theirs was the aggressive Pan-Africanism of WEB Dubois and Marcus Garvey. The colonialists were against this and frightened of it.

After independence the wider African community became clear to me. I was concerned about education; the work of Booker T Washington resonated with me. There were skills we needed and black people outside Africa had them. I gave our US Ambassador the specific job of recruiting skilled Africans from the US Diaspora. A few came, like you. Some stayed; others left.

We should try to revive it. We should look to our brothers and sisters in the West. We should build the broader Pan-Africanism. There is still the room – and the need. ”

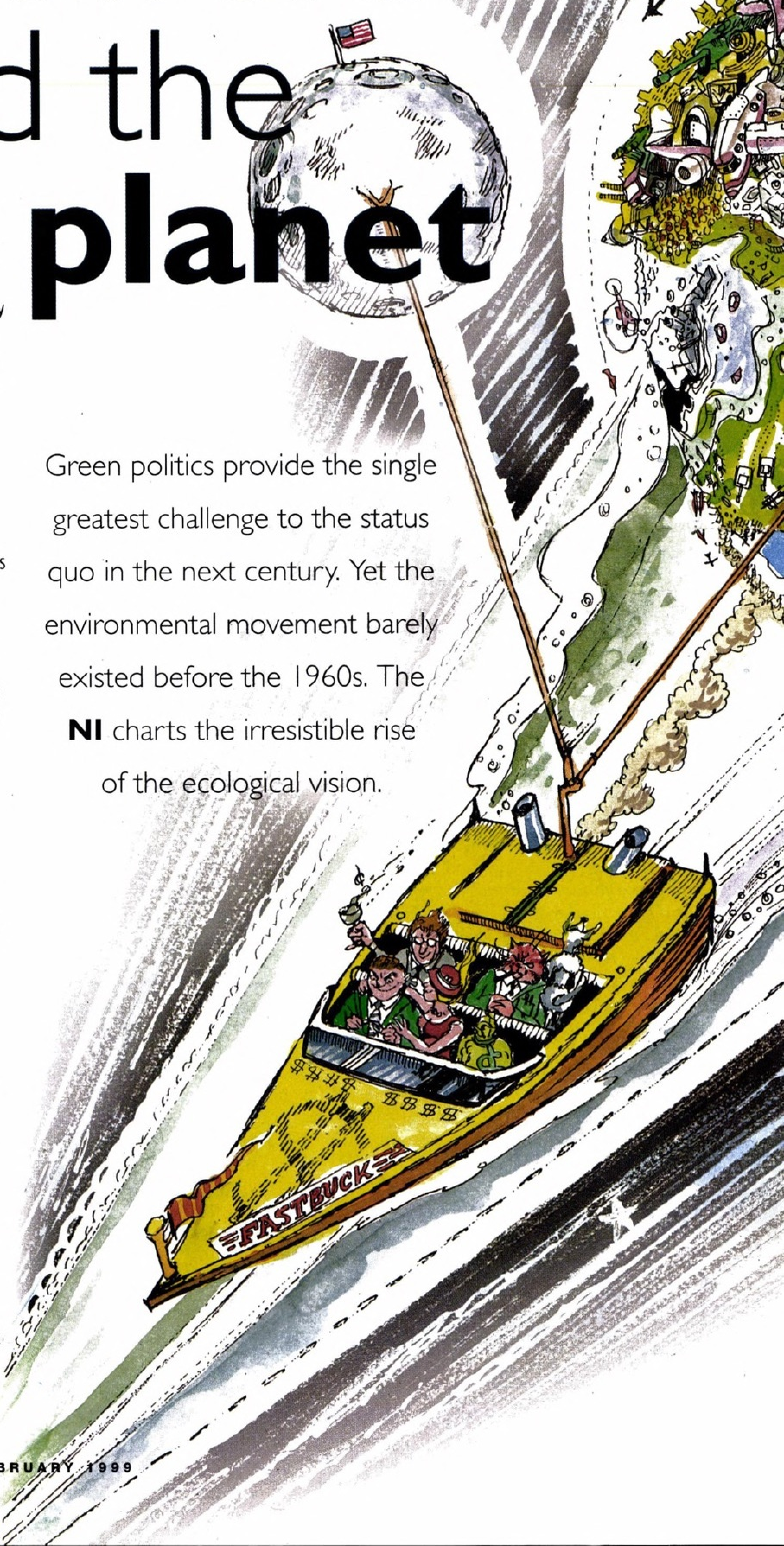
Ikaweba Bunting is currently Oxfam’s Communications Officer for East Africa based in Nairobi. He also belongs to a Pan-African Working Group.

THE RADICAL
TWENTIETH
CENTURY

ECOLOGY

The powerboat and the planet

Green politics provide the single greatest challenge to the status quo in the next century. Yet the environmental movement barely existed before the 1960s. The **NI** charts the irresistible rise of the ecological vision.



The pioneers

While environmentalism is definitely a child of the twentieth century, its philosophical roots hark back to earlier times and it is perhaps the first genuinely internationalist movement in the variety of its origins. It has drawn on everything from traditional native beliefs about the sanctity of nature to the scientific ecology of the German biologist Haechal; from Eastern religions like Taoism and Buddhism to the social analysis of anarchism and Marx; from Charles Darwin to Walt Whitman. The non-violent civil disobedience of Gandhi has also been a major influence.

The early environmentalists found their homes in wilderness and wildlife protection associations, animal-welfare efforts and the public-health movement. They quickly found themselves in opposition to market liberalism and to the conquest-of-nature mentality of colonialists and of settlers in North America, Australasia and South Africa. Among the first environmentalists were the Americans Aldo Leopold, whose *Sand County Almanac* is an ecological classic, and John Muir, who founded the Sierra Club. The tension within environmental politics was between those who wanted to 'manage' nature in a more rational fashion and those who demanded a whole new paradigm for the relationship between nature and the economy. The tension continues to this day.

Silent Spring

No single ecological work has had as much influence as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, published in 1962. For Carson, a biologist, the lack of birdsong was emblematic of a world poisoned by the first generation of agro-chemicals. She traced the impact of chemicals up and down the food chain and in the general environment. *Silent Spring* had a dramatic influence both on public consciousness and eventually on regulatory policy. Despite criticism of her science by the chemical industry and others, 12 of the pesticides and herbicides Carson identified as the most dangerous have since been either severely restricted or banned outright. This of course includes the infamous DDT, now banned in most countries. After Carson a profound unease about technological progress was loose upon the land and the environmental impact of economic decisions and technological choices was always on the agenda. The main focus of environmental protest in the 1960s was not however agro-chemicals but the effects of nuclear fallout from weapons-testing and the movement for a comprehensive international test-ban treaty.

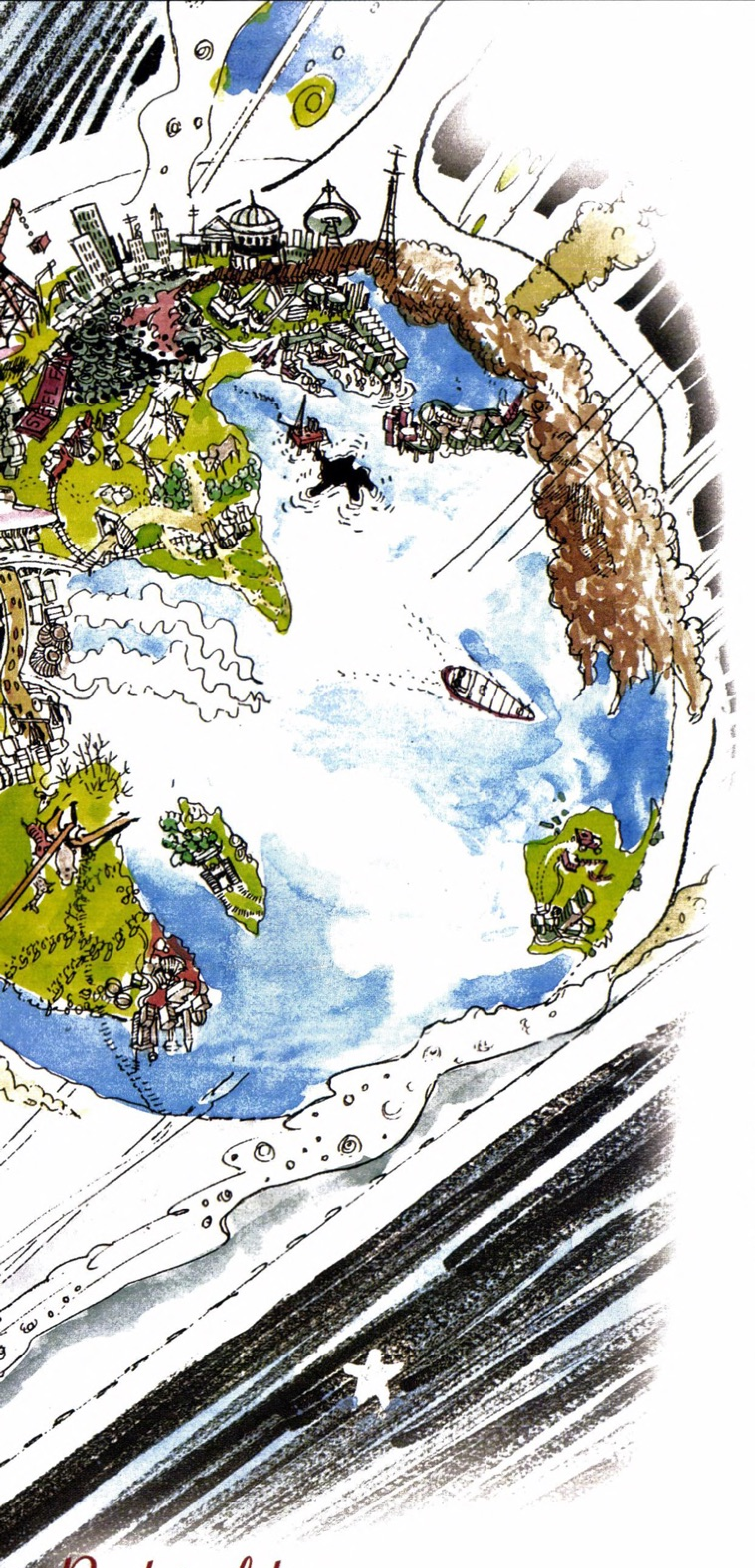


ILLUSTRATION BY JEFF DOUWES

Prophets of doom

The early 1970s saw a series of studies published that predicted a dire future for humanity if we did not change our ways. A furious debate broke out between Paul Ehrlich (*The Population Bomb*) and Barry Commoner (*The Closing Circle*) over whether the problem was too many people or too many machines. A group of scientists and business leaders came together to form the Club of Rome and launched an extensive computer-based study extrapolating present patterns of population growth, resource use and other environmental trends. Their alarming results were published as *Limits to Growth* in 1972. The same year another study entitled *Blueprint for Survival* was published in Britain. Their critics accused them (with some justification) of exaggeration and at least some of the doomsday theorists had alarming biases against poor countries, blaming them for population growth and ignoring the vastly disproportionate share of the world's wealth gobbled up by industrial corporations and consumers. But the studies set the alarm bells ringing and made people think about the kind of world we want to live in.

The new environmentalism

Under the impact of a series of major oil spills, nuclear and chemical accidents, species extinctions and mounting evidence of global eco-destruction in the late 1960s and early 1970s a new generation of more militant environmental organizations started to emerge. Among these were Greenpeace, with its uncanny ability to capture media attention, and Friends of the Earth (FOE), originally an activist splinter group from the more conservative Sierra Club. Both quickly became international in scope and membership and took a leadership role in exposing and opposing crimes against the environment. Public concern for the environment fluctuated with the business cycle of the economy – waxing in times of prosperity and waning in recession. As organizations like FOE and Greenpeace became established a new wave of direct-action groups emerged to take up an even more militant position of environmental defence. The anti-nuclear movement in Europe launched massive demonstrations against the secretive nuclear establishment and their power plants, while in the US a loose-knit coalition called Earth First used civil disobedience and sometimes sabotage (which they called 'monkey-wrenching') to defend endangered species and wilderness areas. The current movement of road protesters in Britain is very much in this tradition.

Green politics

The West German Greens were not the first Green political party but they were certainly the first to achieve prominence – and their success helped spawn other such parties, especially in Europe, in the 1980s. The key to whether Greens could organize into effective parties was the political space available to them. Dictatorships or even the 'guided democracies' of the South provided an inhospitable climate. Also the 'first-past-the-post' electoral systems of countries like the US, Britain and Canada made it very difficult for Green parties to break through. It was under the proportional-representation systems of countries like Germany, France, Scandinavia and Holland that they really gained a political toehold. While their share of the vote has fluctuated between five and ten per cent, their support has been consistent and their influence as part of local, state and now national governments has outweighed their numbers. On such issues as soft energy, pollution controls, planning and human rights they have helped shape policy. But to gain this influence they have often had to compromise on their ideals, leading to a tension inside most Green parties. This was most dramatically seen in the split between the 'realos' (realists) and the 'fundis' (fundamentalists) in the German Green Party but is present throughout the entire Green movement.

The Earth Summit

In 1992 the United Nations convened its second international conference on the global environment, in Rio de Janeiro. The first had been held in Stockholm two decades earlier and saw conflict between industrial countries and the Third World: Southern governments felt they were being expected to bear the brunt of ecological controls which would deny them an industrial future. By 1992 the situation had altered: a grassroots environmental movement had over the two decades gained increasing influence in the South. This stretched from anti-dam protesters in Thailand through the Chipko tree-conservation movement of northern India to Amazonian rubber-tappers' struggle to save the rainforest. Rio's Earth Summit gave voice and weight to such movements, bringing development and environment together. No longer could Southern politicians maintain that the environment was solely a concern of the Northern middle class. But demands for justice as well as sustainability have rendered the movement a lot less palatable in Washington and the other industrial capitals, and urgent action on the key problems has been lacking.

Nevertheless, as the century ends, a ravaged world fishery, global warming, ozone depletion, widespread chemical poisoning and rampant deforestation have placed the Green movement centre-stage for the twenty-first century. For if there is going to be a future, it looks very much like it will have to be Green.

Domestic murder and the golden sea

THE RADICAL TWENTIETH CENTURY

FEMINISM

The battle for women's rights – from the vote to sexual autonomy – was well and truly joined in this century. But it was not only fought in the West, as **Urvashi Butalia** explains.

SUFFRAGETTE
TACTICS
AND
M.P.s

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HEALTH TO THE COMMUNITY

Arms aloft: sisterhood is powerful whether in Edwardian Britain (above) or post-liberation South Africa.

ONE hot summer afternoon some 20 years ago, my mother looked out of her window at the house across the road. She noticed, first, the smoke billowing out of one of the bedrooms and then suddenly became aware of a commotion – loud voices, muted screams. Within minutes, Hardeep Kaur, a young woman who had recently married into the family, was brought out wrapped in a sheet and rushed to hospital.

Later we found out what had happened. Hardeep hadn't brought enough dowry – enough, that is, to satisfy her in-laws' greed. They asked for more, repeatedly, and continued to harass and threaten her. One day, they decided to kill her, make the death look like an accident, keep what she'd brought and offer their son in marriage to another woman – thereby acquiring another dowry.

My mother found this difficult to believe. Was it possible that people could so easily dismiss a woman's life? She resolved to help Hardeep. She visited her in hospital, gave evidence against the murderers in court, joined anti-dowry demonstrations, refused to accept that domestic violence was a 'family matter' – and thus began her journey into one of the most empowering and significant ideologies of all time: feminism.

In some ways, my mother had always been something of a feminist – though, like many other women, she had never admitted this to herself. Years later, when I asked her about this, she said: 'Well, it was so simple. Had it not been for the many women who had gone before me, I would never have had the courage to live the way I have – to resist being cast in the role of the Indian mother...'

Today, as I stand at the end of the century and look back on the women who have made feminism a reality for us, I realize, with something of a shock, that they are far more numerous than I ever imagined. I'm reminded of some of the landmarks of our history:

♀ ♀ ♀

The year is 1910. Bhikaji Cama, an Indian nationalist and feminist, addresses a meeting of the Egyptian National Council in Brussels. She says to the assembled men: 'I see here the representatives of only half the population of Egypt. May I ask where is the other half? Where are your mothers and sisters? Your wives and daughters?'

♀ ♀ ♀

Bhikaji Cama, I realize with the knowledge born of hindsight, isn't just conjuring up imaginary Egyptian feminists, for things are happening in Egypt too. In the same year that she speaks, Huda Saharawi opens the first school for girls in Egypt. Later, during the nationalist agitation of 1919, she organizes women to demonstrate against British colonialists. But her most important step comes a year after the founding of the Egyptian Feminist Union (1923) when Saharawi goes to Rome to attend an international conference of women. On her way back, she takes the bold step of casting her veil upon the waters, refusing ever to wear it again.

♀ ♀ ♀

The year is 1911. In America, Carrie Chapman Catt, a leading feminist and suffragist, is bemoaning the shortsightedness of men. To them, she says: 'the woman movement is an inexplicable mystery, an irritating excrescence upon the harmonious development of society. But to us... there is no mystery. From its source... we clearly trace the course of this movement through the centuries, moving slowly but majestically onward, gathering momentum, with each century, each generation, until just before us lies the golden sea of women's liberty.'

* * *

A year later, suffragettes in England explode into militant action, breaking windows in London shops and even at the Prime Minister's home. Some 150 of them are arrested, including Emmeline Pankhurst, and in prison they continue their protest, refusing to eat, driving the prison authorities to force-feed them. Shortly after she is released, Pankhurst addresses a gathering at the Royal Albert Hall in London. 'It always seems to me,' she says, 'when the anti-suffrage members of the government criticize militancy in women, that it is very like beasts of prey reproaching the gentler animals who turn in desperate resistance when at the point of death.'

* * *

Egypt, India, the US, England – a mere handful of countries, and such a short space of time. How many more names and issues would we be able to line up, I wonder, if we were to take stock of the whole century? For it is true that in many ways, the twentieth century can be called the age of women: all over the world their rights and wrongs, their wishes and desires, have been the subject of fierce and heated debates.

Where, then, does one find a beginning? 'It was in the United States – at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 –' the Vintage Book of Historical Feminism tells us, 'that the first organized movement for freedom for women was founded.' As an Indian feminist, I react to this statement: this, I tell myself, is only an American beginning. For the women's movement internationally has many different starting-points, many trajectories.

The key feminist issue in the West in the early years of the century was the fight for women's suffrage. The first country to offer women the vote, New Zealand, did so as early as 1893, but in other countries there was no sign by 1900 that their rights were being taken seriously. As British feminists made world news in their battle for the right to vote, they inspired their North American sisters across the waters.

Elsewhere in the world too, suffrage became a key issue, although most of the early attempts – Iran in 1911 and 1920, Philippines in 1907, China in 1911, India in 1917, Japan in 1924, Sri Lanka in 1927 – were unsuccessful. But women beyond the West were also waging another kind of battle: against colonialism and for independence. Joining hands with men, they demanded their rights as citizens. That did not mean they ignored women's issues: they worked on both fronts, giving solidarity to men when it was needed and questioning their dominance when it seemed necessary.

Nor did the inspirational examples in these early years all come from the rich world. One of Indonesia's leading feminists, Kartini, talked, for instance, of the influence on her of Pandita Ramabai, an extraordinary Indian woman whose life she found inspiring: 'I was still going to school when I heard of this courageous Indian woman for the first time. I remember it so well: I was very young, a child of ten or eleven when, glowing with enthusiasm, I read of her in the paper. I trembled with excitement: not alone for the white woman is it possible to attain an independent position; the brown Indian too can make herself free. For days I thought of her and I have never been able to forget her. See what one good example can do! It spreads its influence so far.'

In the West, the years following the First World War – after partial suffrage had been won in some places – are generally seen as marking a lull in feminist activity. So too, in other parts of the world, women retreated into the home after the success of anti-colonial campaigns in the 1950s and 1960s. The empire had ended, in many places independence had been won – the new nations would be free, egalitarian, democratic...

It took many years for a different reality to sink in. Freedom, democracy, the rise of the proletariat – none of these delivered to women the promised 'equality' or dignity. Little changed, at home or in the workplace. Men still held all the cards.

Each step along the way brought more questions. How was it that trade unions hardly had any women leaders? What gave a union member the right to speak about workers' equality on the one hand and come home and beat his wife on the other? It began to become clear that politics was not confined to the outside world; instead it entered the home and was acted out in the most intimate of domestic interactions. It was, in fact, a very personal affair.

It took the women's movement to bring this important – and difficult – fact to the notice of the world. Yet very few people, both men and women, were willing to accept such a frightening truth: as long as politics could be kept somewhere 'out there' they could cope. But the moment it entered the home and touched on all those things that made up one's very being, it signalled an overhauling of intimacies, relationships, family life. How could this be accepted? The feminist slogan 'the personal is political' – for women the most empowering of slogans – was as troubling for activists on the Left as it was for conservatives.

In 1925, a year after Lenin's death, the German socialist Clara Zetkin recorded her memory of several conversations with him on the subject of women. 'I have been told,' he complained, 'that at the evenings arranged for discussion with

MAGGIE MURRAY / FORMAT

working women, sex and marriage problems come first... I could not believe my ears when I heard that. The first state of proletarian dictatorship is battling with the counter-revolutionaries of the whole world... But active communist women are busy discussing sex problems and the forms of marriage!'

The 'second wave' of the women's movement all over the world, from the 1960s onwards, was marked by just such discussions on what had hitherto been seen as taboo subjects, including, specifically, female desire and pleasure in the form of the female orgasm. The campaigns were not without their lighter moments. In Italy feminists coined a slogan that upheld the greater importance of the clitoral orgasm, saying thereby that the penis was not necessary for women's enjoyment of sex. 'Col dito, il dito', the slogan said, 'l'orgasme sara garantito' (with the finger, the finger, the orgasm is guaranteed), to which a group of men replied, 'Con cazzo, con cazzo, e un altro andazo' (with the penis, with the penis, is another experience altogether)!

By the 1970s, it was becoming clear that the women's movement was one of the most dynamic and vibrant movements of all time. Everywhere in the world, it was women who were in the forefront of campaigning. In the peace movement, women occupied bases, exhorted countries to stop the arms race, advanced the issues of livelihood and survival. In the environmental movement, it was women who led demonstrations and marches and clung to trees to stop them being felled. In the labour movement they demanded that attention be paid to women's rights...

With every campaign came a new lesson. At one time winning the vote seemed to be the crucial issue. Yet, once the vote was won, it became clear that there was a long road ahead. At another point, education seemed the most desirable goal. Yet, as education began to spread, women all over questioned its usefulness and validity.

Then it seemed that class differences were an insurmountable barrier, but this too was not the only answer. Soon, religion came to displace class since, for women in the Majority World, religious dogma and practice seemed to reinforce patriarchies – until it became clear that religion, like class, was not a force that was easily wiped out.

Perhaps the most empowering insight came only gradually – that emancipation did not mean the same thing all over the world; that for every group of women, perhaps even for each individual woman, the idea of liberation differed. At a conference in London some 15 years ago, a panel of women discussed their understanding of women's liberation. Toni Morrison, the black American writer, located it within the context of racism in the US; Petra Kelly, the German peace activist, saw it in the context of the struggle for peace; Ellen Kuzwayo, the black South African activist and writer, spoke of women's struggle against apartheid's pass laws; while a member of the audience identified homophobia as women's most pressing problem. It was the US writer Adrienne Rich who pointed out that each of these points of view had its own validity; that at this moment, for these women, liberation meant winning their particular struggle. Later, at another time, in another context, it might mean something different.

Five faces of feminism: South African campaigner Ellen Kuzwayo (centre); British suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst (top left); US suffrage campaigner Carrie Chapman Catt (top right); US novelist Toni Morrison (bottom right); German Green Petra Kelly (bottom left).

CORBIS / HULTON-DEUTSCH

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Long years ago, when single issues dominated the women's movement, such a view would probably have been considered lunatic. Yet today, as we look back on a century of women's activism, this recognition of difference, this understanding of its infinite variety, this turning of the gaze from the North to the South and back again, is perhaps the most valuable contribution of the women's movement the world over.

It was this understanding too that lent new meaning to the slogan 'Sisterhood is global', for while that nebulous thing called sisterhood allowed one woman to feel another's pain, no matter that they were divided by geographical, religious or other borders, it also brought home the realization that each woman's life had different priorities, different needs. The internationalization of the women's movement worked, as an activist in Pakistan put it, to 'give it a universal and specific dimension'.

Today, more and more hidden histories of feminist activism are coming to light: women are coming out of the shadows, abandoning the margins. And as men and women alike look at this exciting development, there's cause both for optimism and concern. Will humanity as a whole prove equal to the promise of the women's movement in the twentieth century? Or will it be – as has happened in small ways – that women will move ahead, leaving men behind? Will people create new and different relationships? Or will they reject what the movement has to offer, making that terrible word 'backlash' a reality?

It's difficult to say. What is clear though, it seems to me, is that from the point at which we stand today, there is no going back. We may not have quite arrived at the 'golden sea of women's liberty' envisoned by Carrie Chapman Catt nearly a hundred years ago, but its waters are certainly beginning to lap at our feet. ■

Urvashi Butalia works in Delhi with Kali for Women, India's first feminist publishing house, which she co-founded in 1994.

THE RADICAL TWENTIETH CENTURY

LABOUR

After the eclipse

Revolution is out of fashion and organized labour has tumbled for the orgiastic imagery of consumerism. But the next phase of labour resistance is just beginning, according to **Jeremy Seabrook**.

If it is true, as historian Eric Hobsbawm says, that labour spent the first half of the nineteenth century learning the rules of the capitalist game and the second half applying them, then the first half of the twentieth century saw the apparently irresistible triumph of labour, and the second half its eclipse and fall – or almost.

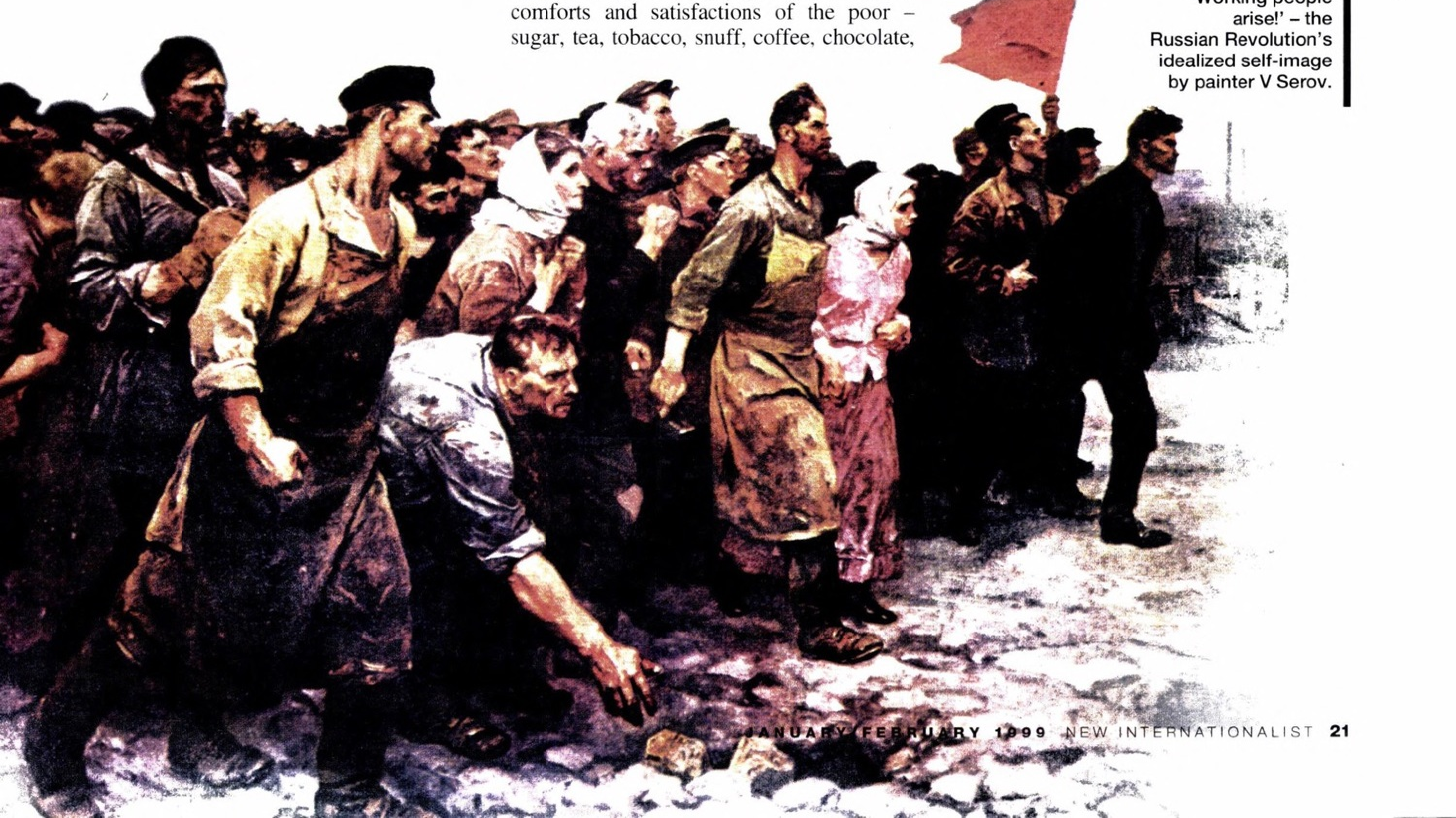
The nineteenth-century élite was haunted by fear of those the Industrial Revolution had called into existence to serve it: the volatile and unpredictable masses of people concentrated in the manufacturing districts. Memory of the French Revolution led the privileged classes to dread the potential power of labour, whether organized or spontaneous; and after Marx wrote *Das Kapital* in 1867, with its sulphurous predictions of the inevitable victory of the proletariat, the anxiety of the rich became acute. Marx himself alerted them to the need to conciliate the labouring poor to a system which they might otherwise destroy.

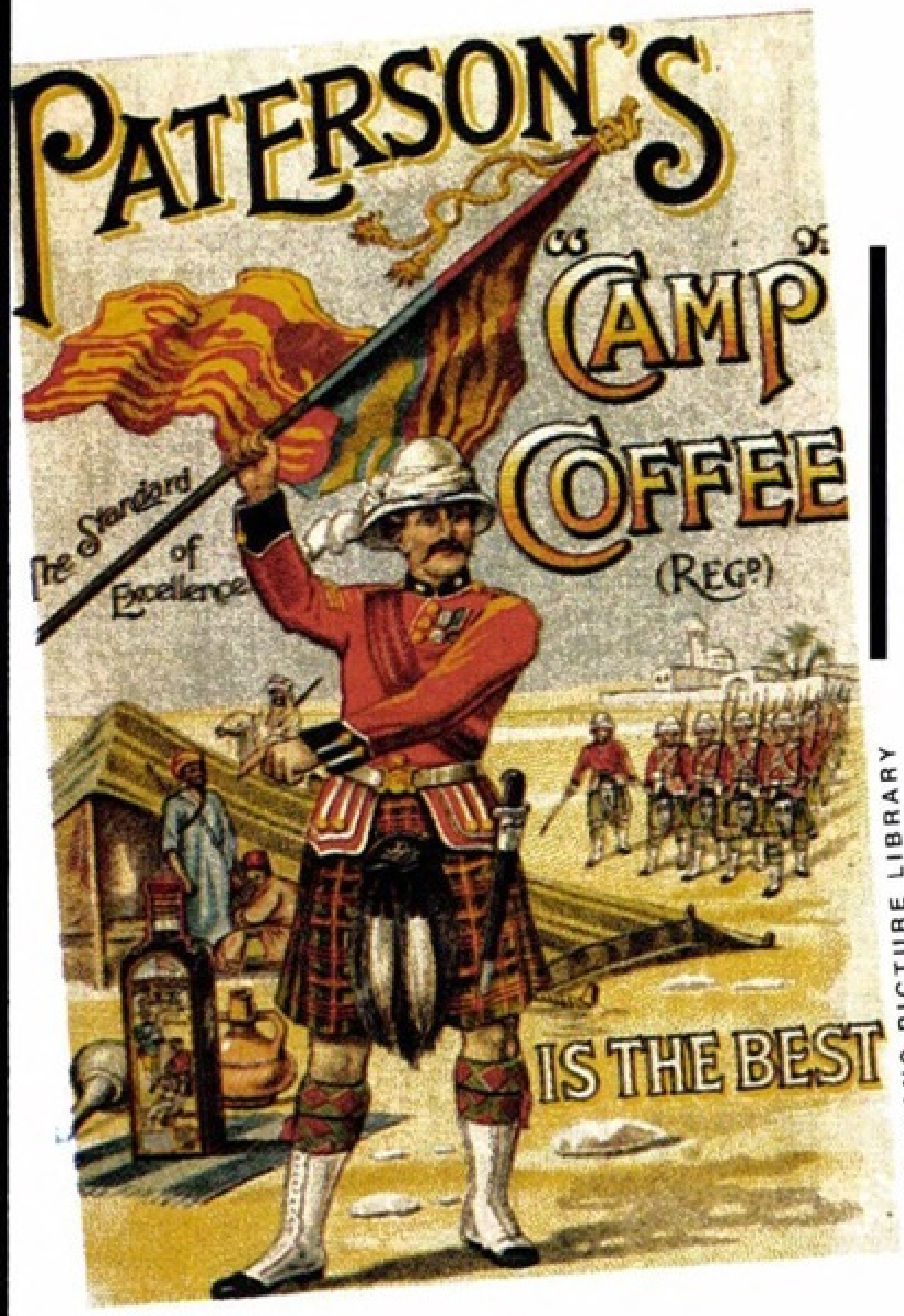
The working class were a new kind of humanity, never before seen on earth. Transformed by industrialism from the remnants of a wasting peasantry, their psyche and sensibility was reshaped by and for the rhythms of industrial society. Yet in spite of Marx's assertion that revolution would occur in the advanced societies, it was the Russian Revolution in 1917 which seemed to confirm his prophecies.

The effects of this event have shadowed the world ever since, at least until the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s. The energy and creativity of the Revolution may have been buried beneath the brutal rigidities of Stalinism but a threatened West still had to modify the harshness of its free markets. Reform was inevitable, under pressure from its own labour movements.

The gains made by the workers of the West, of course, preceded the Russian Revolution. Indeed, it was the products of slavery and of the European empires which helped reconcile Western workers to capitalism. For the British, it was the colonized lands which increasingly provided the small comforts and satisfactions of the poor – sugar, tea, tobacco, snuff, coffee, chocolate, pepper, cloves for toothache and apple pies, nutmeg sprinkled on rice pudding, later canned pineapple and refrigerated meat. Indeed, the relationship between the workers of the imperial powers and the oppressed peoples of empire foreshadowed the North-South divide of the twentieth century – inequalities which are today being exacerbated under the banner of globalization.

Once a form of socialism had been established in Russia, Western workers' demands had to be listened to by their rulers more closely than before; the more so since labour and socialist parties were beginning to participate in government in Europe. At the same time, the socialist movement in Europe made common cause with liberation and anti-colonial struggles elsewhere. It


'Working people arise!' – the Russian Revolution's idealized self-image by painter V Serov.



The colonies provided 'small satisfactions' that helped reconcile the poor to capitalism.

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seemed to many that socialism was the unifying force that would liberate both the workers of the West and the oppressed of empire. This was made more likely as an indigenous working class emerged in many of the colonized territories: the mill-workers of Maharashtra in India, the miners of South Africa, the tin-mine and plantation workers of Malaya. When Gandhi visited London's East End and Lancashire in the 1930s, he was received with a strange enthusiasm – 'strange', in that British workers responded to Gandhi's simplicity and resistance to exploitation, even though they were afraid their jobs were being undermined by cheap labour in the mills of Bombay. It was another curious prefiguring of the present day.

Amidst the ashes of Europe in 1945, the Fascist nightmare over, the workers' cause seemed unstoppable. This sense was strengthened by the establishment of Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe, and was given fresh impetus by the Chinese Revolution in 1949. In Western countries, the welfare state was established; a new note of concern and respect for workers was heard. 'Never again' became the slogan, not only to war, but, it was implied, to the poverty, unemployment and economic ruin that had been major causes of war. It looked as though socialism was inevitable.

Of course, the United States provided the alternative model which was to divide Western workers from the other subjects of empire, and to attach them further to capitalism. This model is today offered globally as a source of hope to all the peoples of the world – the promises and pleasures of the consumer society.

Champion of the poor. ' When Gandhi visited London's East End in the 1930s, he was received with a strange enthusiasm.'

HULTON DEUTSCH / CORBIS

Consumerism is not the same thing as prosperity. It is not a synonym for relief from poverty. It is in fact a substitute for the security and sufficiency which the labour movement sought for its people. Visions of the future formulated by labour were of well-regulated workplaces populated with healthy workers, living in salubrious State-provided houses, who enjoyed their leisure in parks, libraries and devoted themselves to self-improvement. Such visions have now been overtaken by the orgiastic imagery of mass consumption which has, through the modern media conglomerates, saturated the globe. The fact that labour's visions were so easily submerged, colonized and eclipsed does not mean capitalism has a better grasp of what people want. It speaks rather to the poverty of labour's imagination as it resisted the easy version of the 'good life' promoted by consumerism.

The 'settlement' of 1945 in which labour and capital were apparently reconciled, was based on a tacit acceptance by the leaders of socialist and labour parties that if governments ensured people were adequately fed, clothed, housed, employed and educated, the earthly paradise could not be far behind. Lost was any sense that humans also need to be proactive, to make and to create, to do things for themselves and for one another.

How much more compelling have been the seductions of consumerism! This may have dealt in promises, maybe illusions; it may have undermined as many real needs as it answered. But it is through consumerism that the people of the world have apparently been won to capitalism, that socialism has been seemingly vanquished. The 'pact' of 1945 was observed by labour, but not by capital.

The story of the 1980s is well known. Thatcher and her cohorts called the bluff of the labour movement, which had become a ghost-army of dead souls not only in Western Europe, but also in the Soviet Union. Communism crumbled and the free market was set to reign until the crack of doom. It is an epic paradox that capitalism has now declared the end of history, has proclaimed a realm of freedom that is supposed to endure for all time – thereby expropriating communist rhetoric and belief.

The great majority of the countries emerging from colonial rule in the 1950s and 1960s emblazoned some form of socialism on their banners of independence. This, for the most part, meant allying themselves with the Soviet Union; it also helped to freeze all discussion of 'development', 'modernization', 'progress' in the either/or division of communist and capitalist society institutionalized in the Cold War. The example of China under Mao Zedong's ferocious, heroic and unique experiment, offered poor peasant societies an alternative, both to the savagery of Stalinism and the asperities of the market-place – at least for a time.

The working class were a new kind of humanity, never before seen on earth

But the story of humanity in the twentieth century has been, overwhelmingly, the story of attempts to compel people into ideological orthodoxies which have done great violence both to their experience and to their needs. The working class has been used by ideologues of all colours for their own ends. Soviet Communism claimed to celebrate the heroics of labour, for example, while the West persuaded the working class to collude in the conjuring trick of its own disappearance. The myth of the 'classless society' in the US, Canada and Australia is deeply demobilizing: it undermines collective action and solidarity among the dispossessed.

The majority of people on earth require only a secure sufficiency. Neither the sonorous pieties of Marxism-Leninism, nor capitalism's industrial garden of earthly delights in its ubiquitous shopping-malls can satisfy the basic needs of the world's people.

The internal decay and collapse of the Soviet Union has been a grievous loss for the victims of globalization, not because of

Snouts in the trough: Taiwanese factory workers decry the greed of top industrialists.

CHRIS STOWERS / PANOS

the extinction of an ideology that had proved so arid, but because the well-rehearsed obituaries over the death of socialism have left a triumphalist market system free to spread its graveyard dogmas over the entire planet. All ideological conflict is supposed to have been laid to rest, as the rich have been transformed into revered 'wealth-creators' whose exertions allow the poor to survive. In this benign view of the world, rich and poor are no longer antagonists but are united in their search for yet more wealth, more money, more resources.

The reality is vastly different. The market, which is powerless to provide profitless clean drinking water to thousands of villages in India can nevertheless offer unaffordable Coca-Cola to their thirsty inhabitants. The spinning mills of Jakarta, which cannot provide a living wage, can furnish the owners with the military protection which will prevent workers from combining in struggle for a bare sufficiency. Globalization permits money and goods to move around the world unimpeded, yet criminalizes the other indispensable element of production, labour, when it seeks to move to where it can command a decent livelihood. And in the process, the treasures of earth are mined, ravaged and consumed at an accelerating rate.

Globalization is imperialism by another name; the world market is an extension of the global imperial adventure of the nineteenth century; and the majority of the working class are now located not in the tenements of Berlin and Glasgow, the immigrant apartment blocks of Chicago and New York, but in the terrible slums of Asia, the favelas of Latin America, the townships of Africa.

There is now no alternative to the impoverishing enrichment envisaged by the defenders of globalization, even as their project falls apart in East Asia and Russia and plunges the world into ruin once more. The story of labour holds sober lessons. It shows that it is not only as workers that people need emancipation from the totalizing dogmas of neo-liberalism, but as consumers too, as complete human beings. There is a new urgency to the need to formulate a richer form of liberation than that envisaged by the revolutionaries and pioneers of labour. Meanwhile globalization rages across the world, leaving whole countries ravaged in its passage – a Russia ruled by organised banditry, an Indonesia plunged into a new kind of market-determined wretchedness, vast swathes of Africa and Asia in hopeless debt. It is the moving spirit of a global economy in which illegal dealings almost equal legal ones, from drugs and arms through tropical hardwoods and ivory, to the traffic in women for prostitution and industrial slavery.

It is against this that new resistances are forming. Among them are workers in the frightful factories of Indonesia, women garment workers from Bangladesh to Mexico, the indigenous peoples of South America – and all over the world the unemployed and semi-employed, the landless and marginalized of an industrialization without end.

One of the greatest of these movements – so far uncelebrated and unrecognized by a dominant but curiously inattentive West – has occurred in a 'backward' part of Madhya Pradesh in Central India. Shankar Guha Niyogi came to Chattisgarh in the 1970s, and began to organize some of the most wretched workers on earth: those who mined iron ore in the rust-coloured countryside of this tribal area. The trade-union movement he started here was based upon a mixture of Gandhian and Maoist principles (non-violent but relying on the resourcefulness of the people themselves), but it became something more: a movement for liberation, demanding security and a modest well-being for the workers, not the industrial mantra of more and more. So subversive was this peaceful movement, that Niyogi was shot and killed by a cabal of industrialists as he lay sleeping in his room in Bilhai in 1991. But the movement continues, defying both mechanization and globalization.

This new wave of resistance involves not merely workers – however great a part they must play in the liberation struggle waiting to be born – but all whose freedom is forfeit to globalization. Capitalism now promotes itself as a cosmos, a single system which has substituted itself for the natural world it is destroying. In furtherance of this noble ideal it wastes humanity in one way or another, as the British socialist William Morris said, through excess or insufficiency. A world is still to be won: a world where wealth means a conserving and sparing plenty and poverty means a voluntary frugality; a world in which visions as old as humanity itself still remain to be realized. ■

Neither the sonorous pieties of Marxism-Leninism, nor capitalism's industrial garden of earthly delights can satisfy the basic needs of the world's people

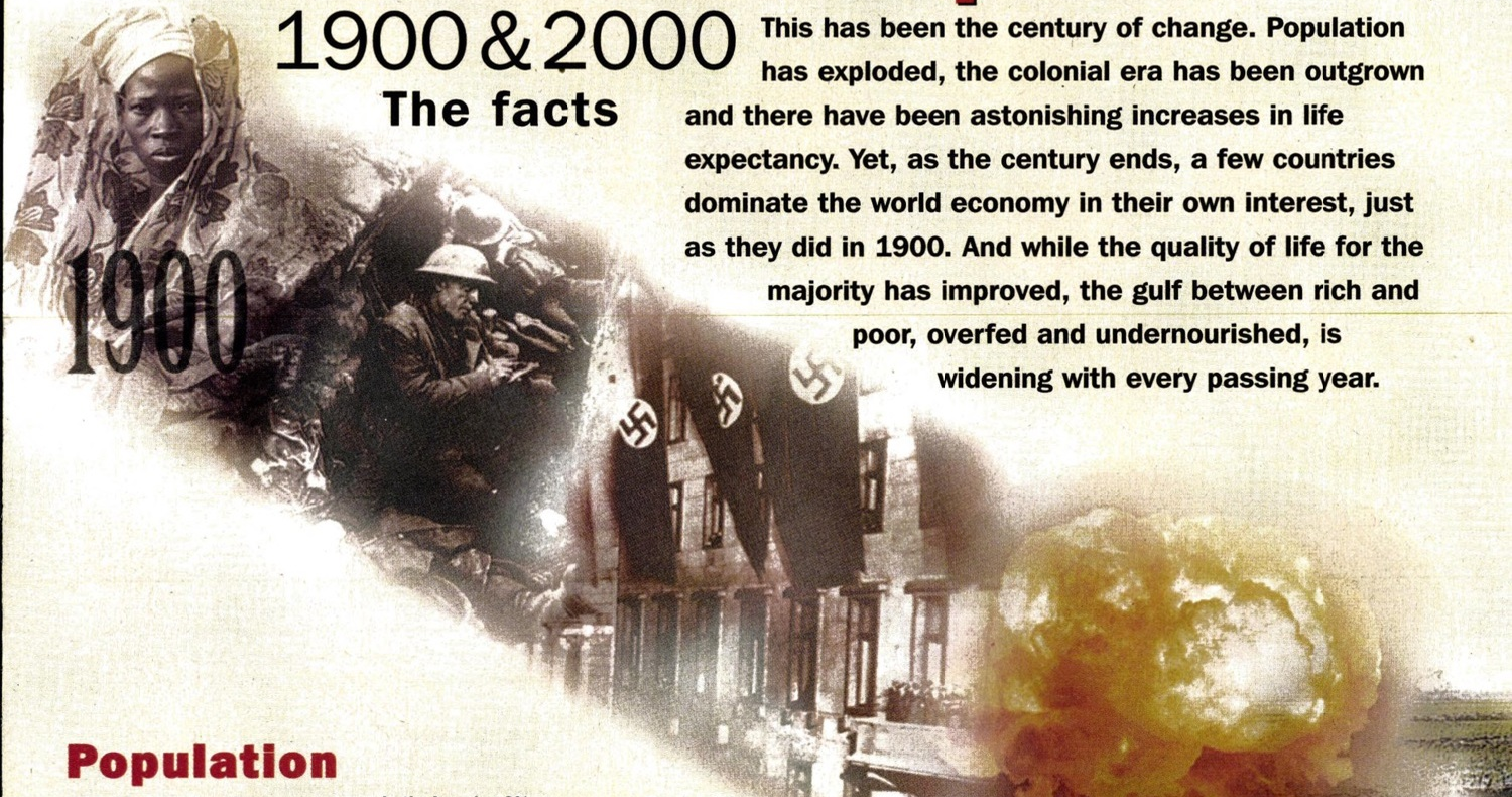
Jeremy Seabrook has devoted his life to writing about poverty and resistance in both North and South. He is a frequent contributor to the **NI**.

Human Development

1900 & 2000

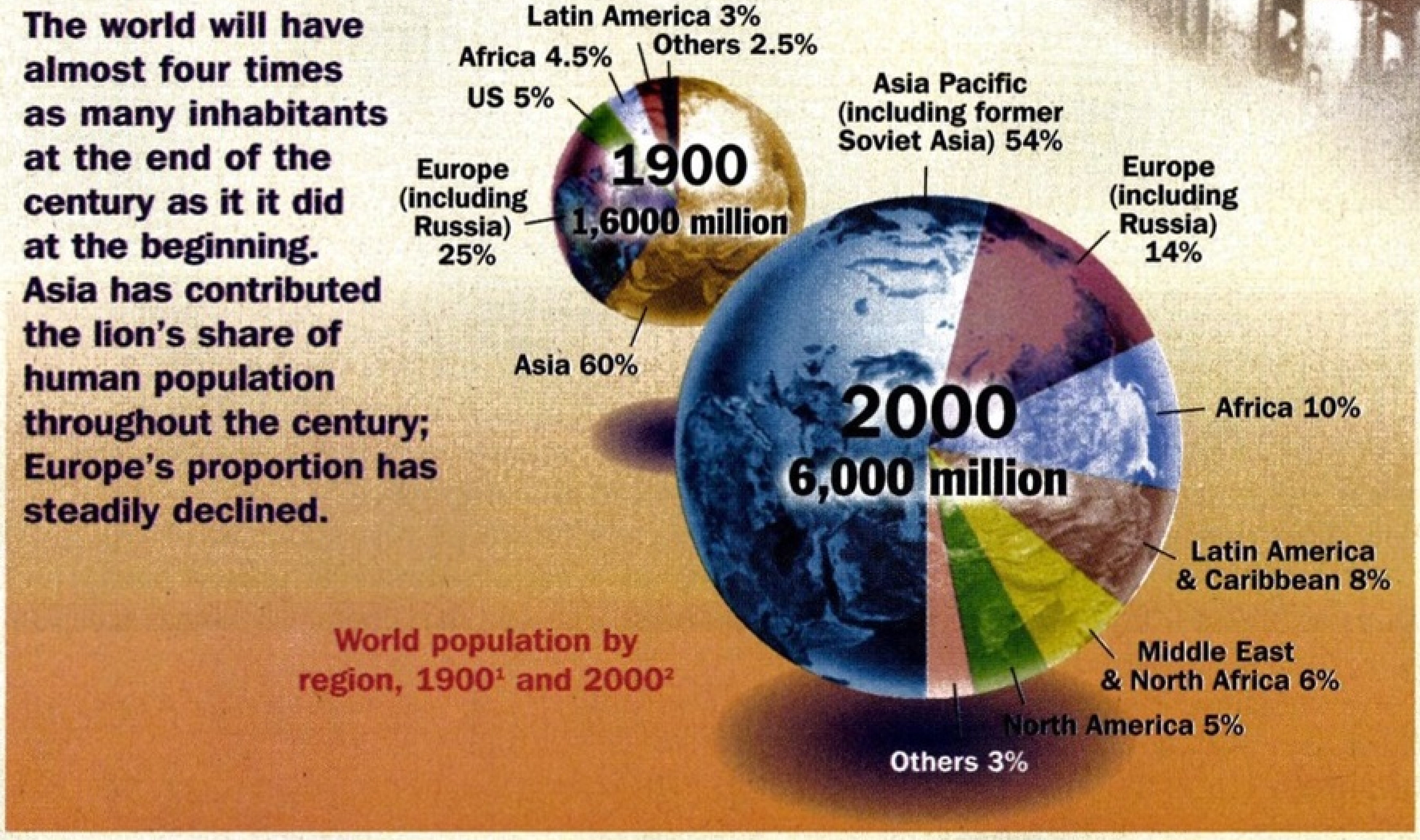
The facts

This has been the century of change. Population has exploded, the colonial era has been outgrown and there have been astonishing increases in life expectancy. Yet, as the century ends, a few countries dominate the world economy in their own interest, just as they did in 1900. And while the quality of life for the majority has improved, the gulf between rich and poor, overfed and undernourished, is widening with every passing year.



Population

The world will have almost four times as many inhabitants at the end of the century as it it did at the beginning. Asia has contributed the lion's share of human population throughout the century; Europe's proportion has steadily declined.



World population by region, 1900[1] and 2000[2]

Environment

Humans had a far more destructive effect on the global environment in the twentieth century than in all the millennia that preceded it.

◆ About half the world's tropical forests were destroyed after 1950. About 75 per cent of the clearance provided land for agriculture. In West Africa three-quarters of all forests had been destroyed by the end of the century.

◆ The release of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) into the atmosphere from the 1930s onwards caused holes in the ozone layer which protects the earth from the sun's ultraviolet radiation. Use of CFCs rose from 100 tons in 1931 to 650,000 tons by the mid-1980s. CFCs have now been phased out but the ozone layer will not return to its former state until the middle of the twenty-first century.

◆ About two-thirds of the effect of global warming comes from the emission of carbon dioxide derived from the burning of fossil fuels. Over half the total increase in carbon dioxide levels between 1750 and 1990 occurred after 1950. These levels are still rising, doubling every 16 years, yet no serious attempt has been made to deal with the problem.[3]

Colonialism

In 1900 Europe and North America controlled 84 per cent of the land surface[4]. The colonial system meant that there were only around 35 independent countries, almost half of which were in the Americas[5]. At the end of the century there are 193 independent states[2].

NEW INTERNATIONALIST

Cumulative Magazine Index

1994-98

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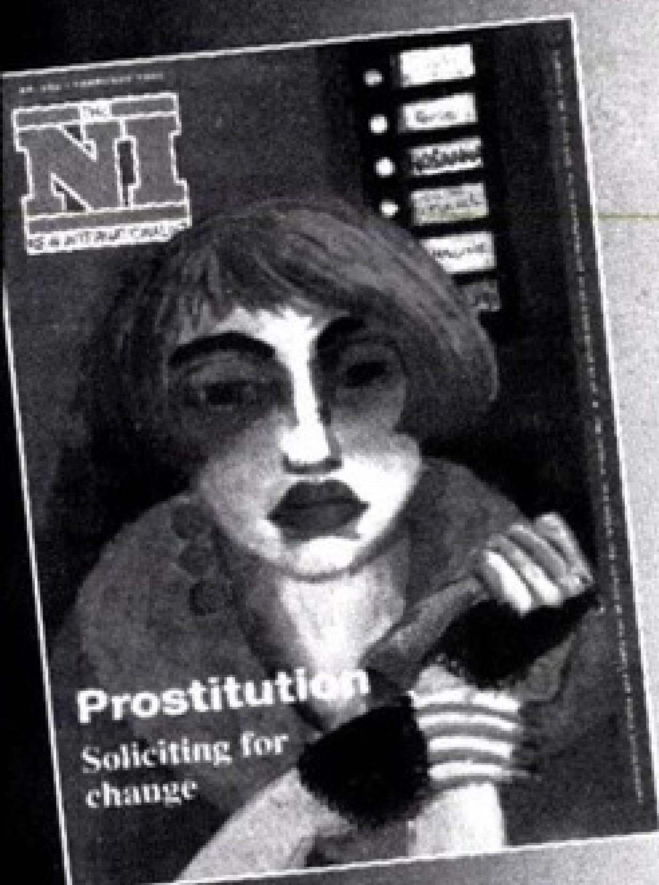
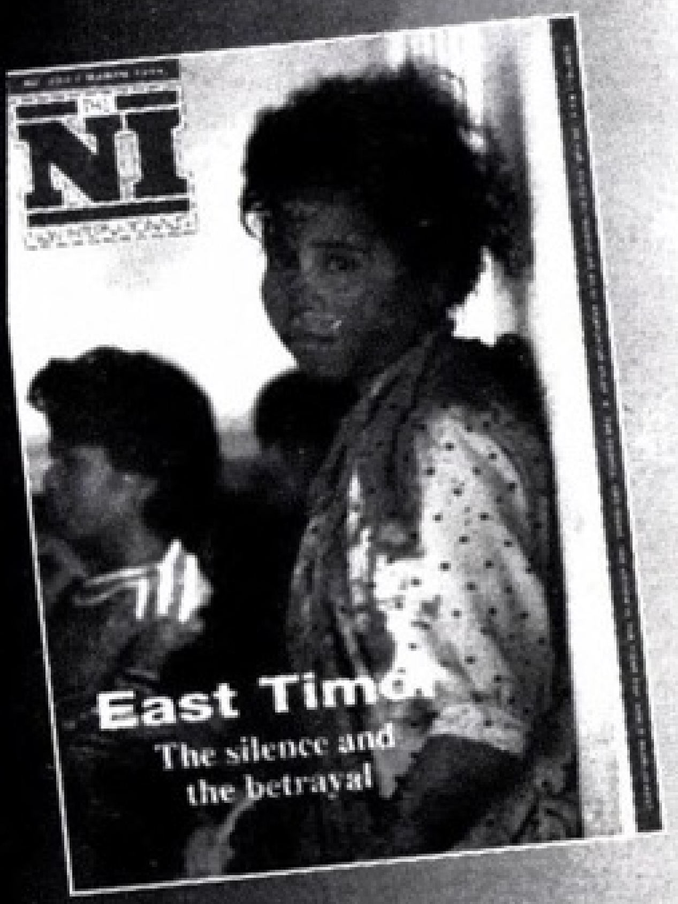
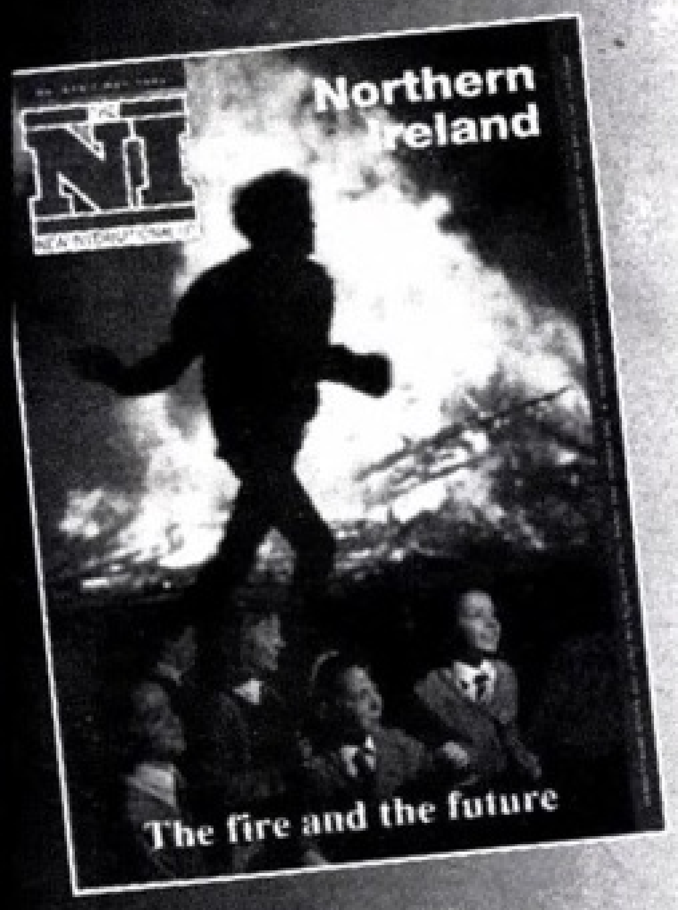
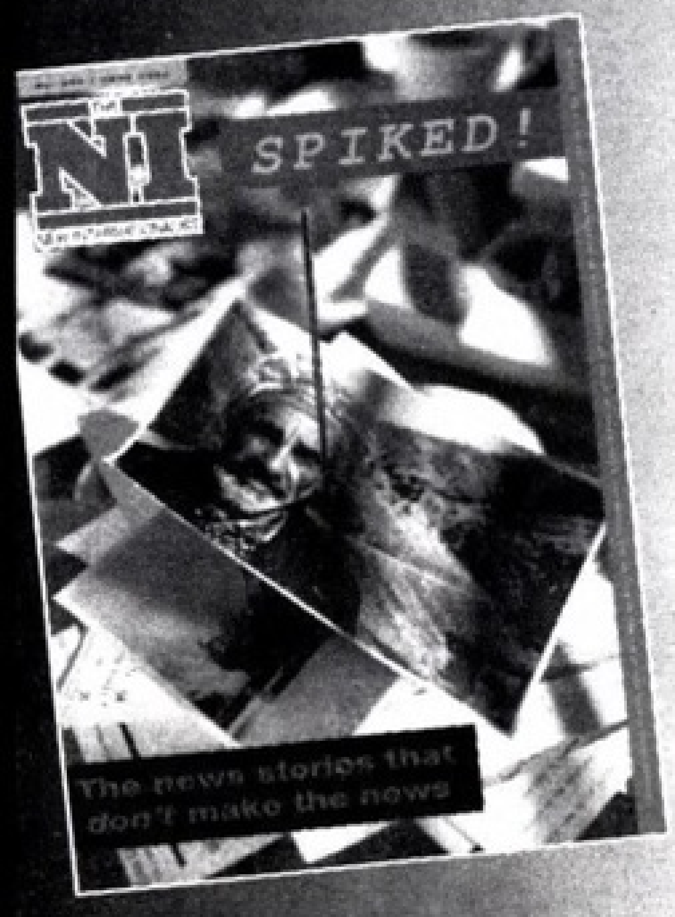
through the Tortilla Curtain





NI
Death without weeping
Daily life in Northeast Brazil





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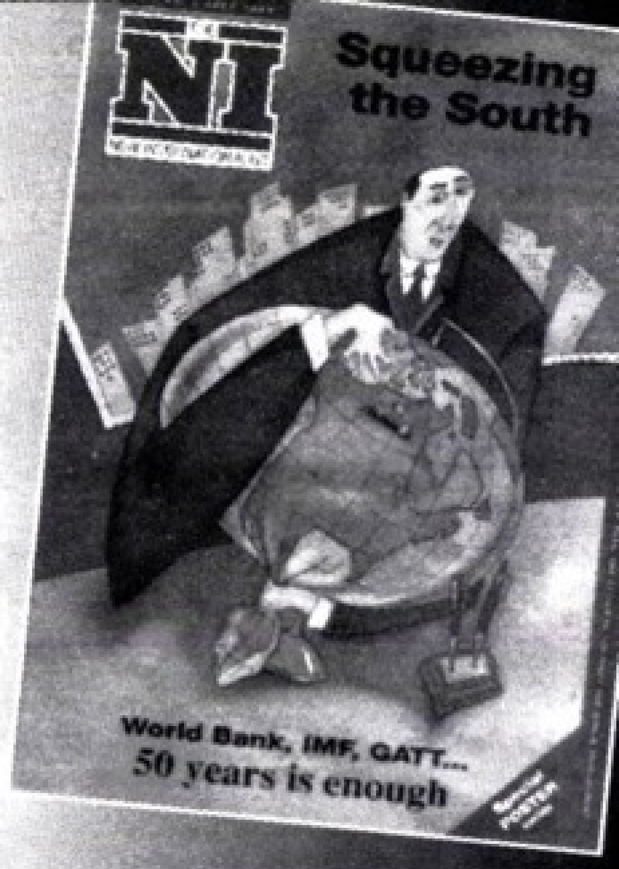

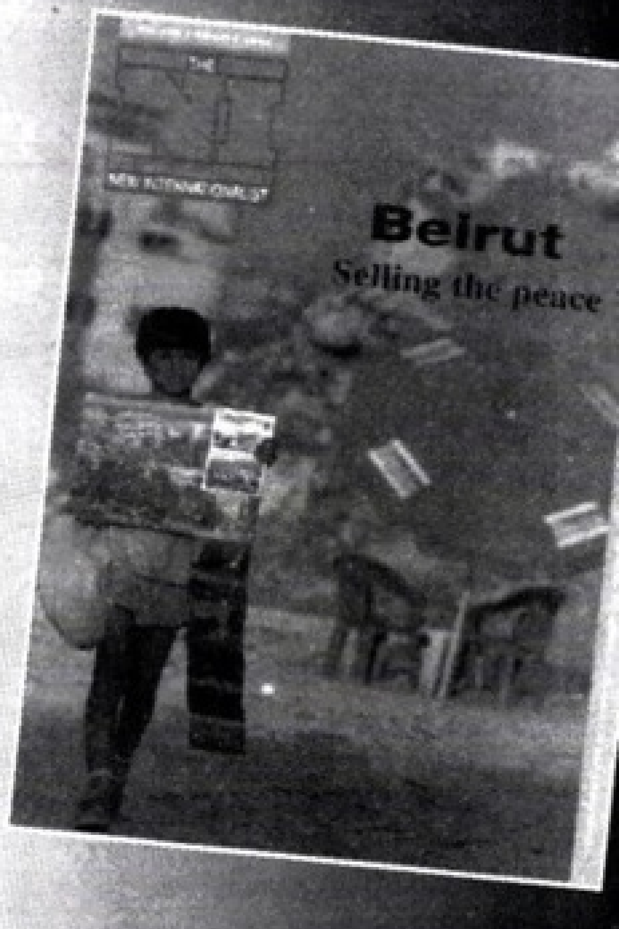

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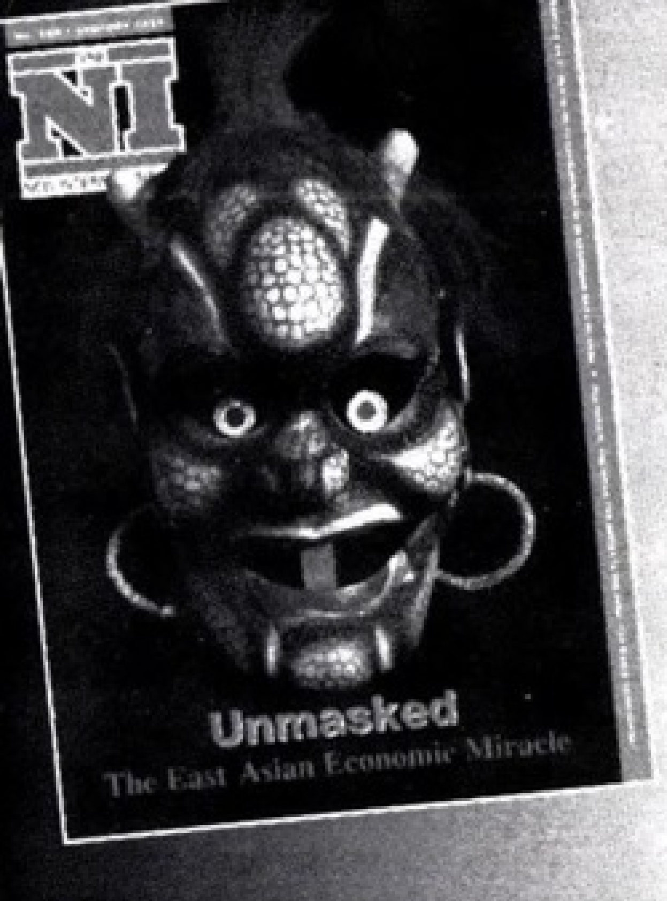

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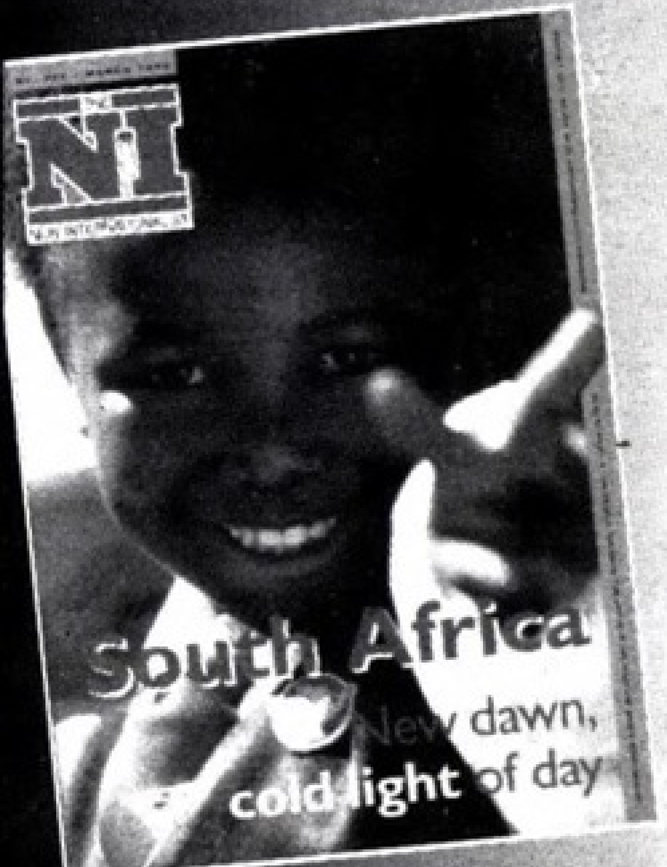

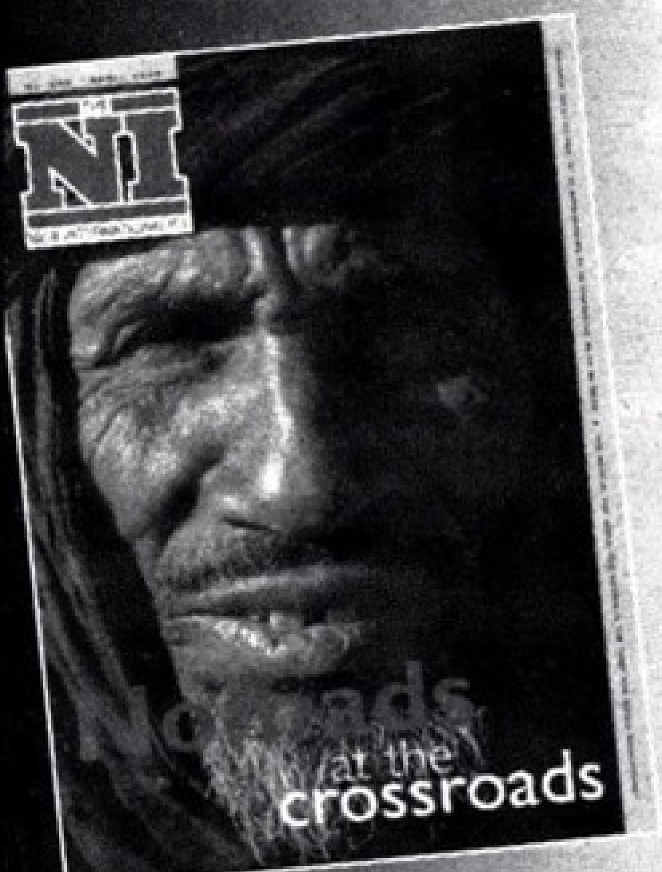

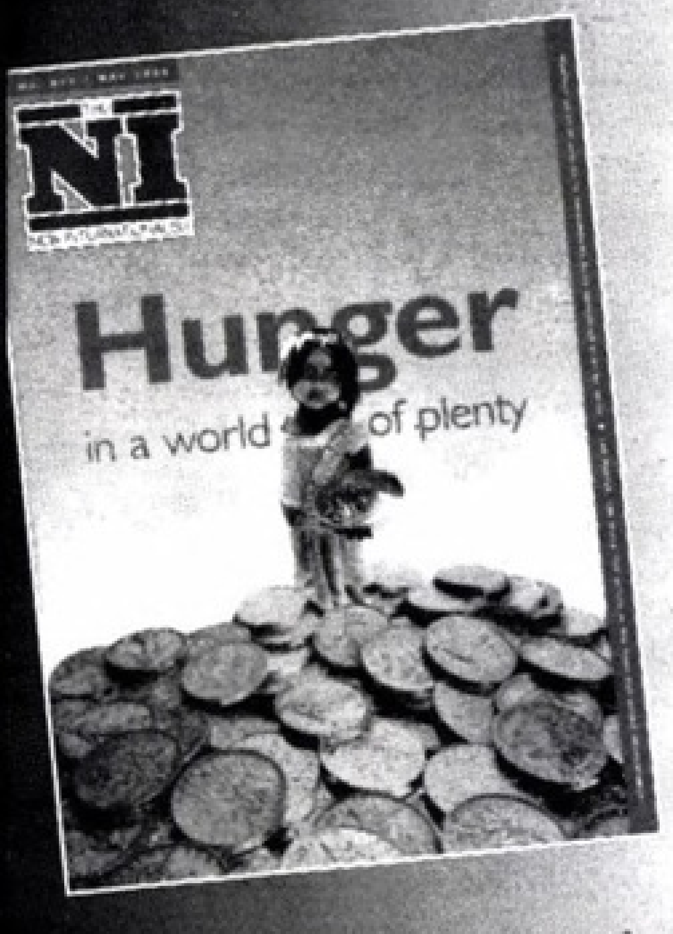

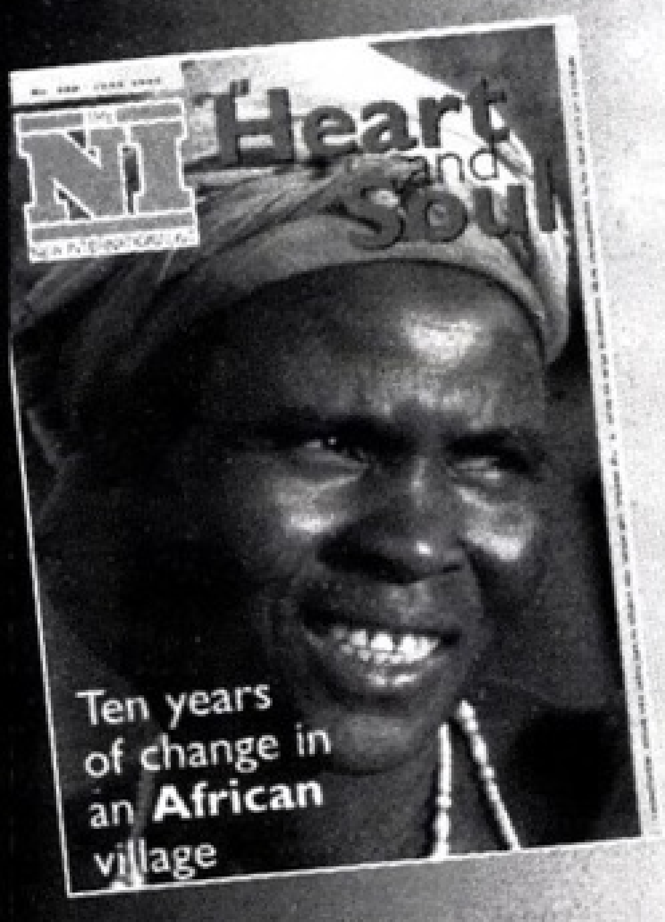

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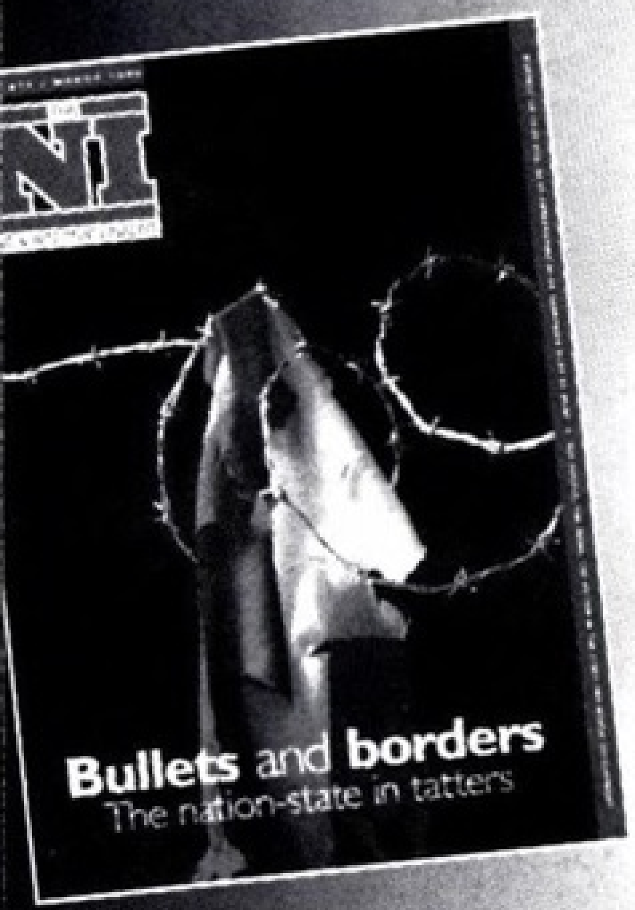
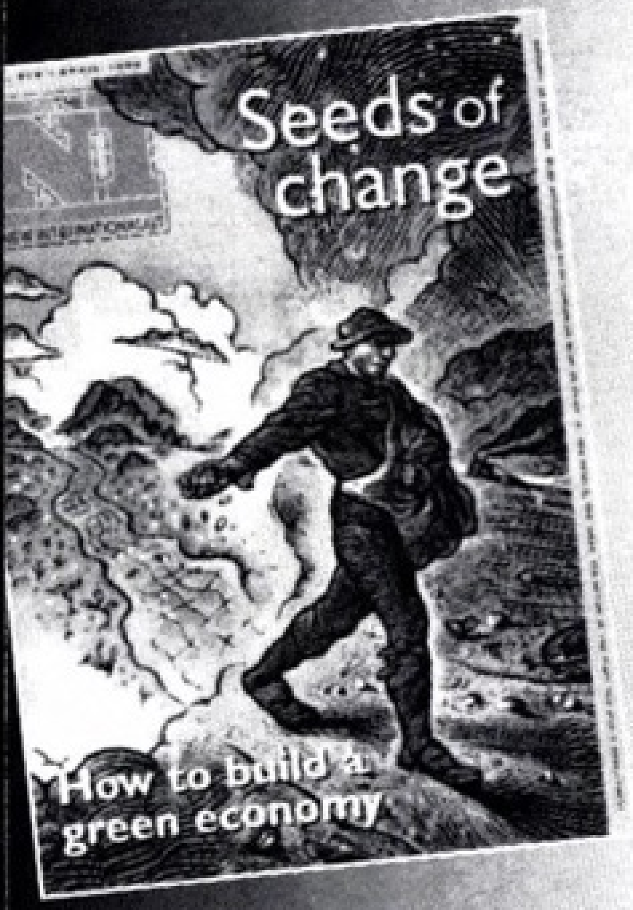
Housing and homelessness





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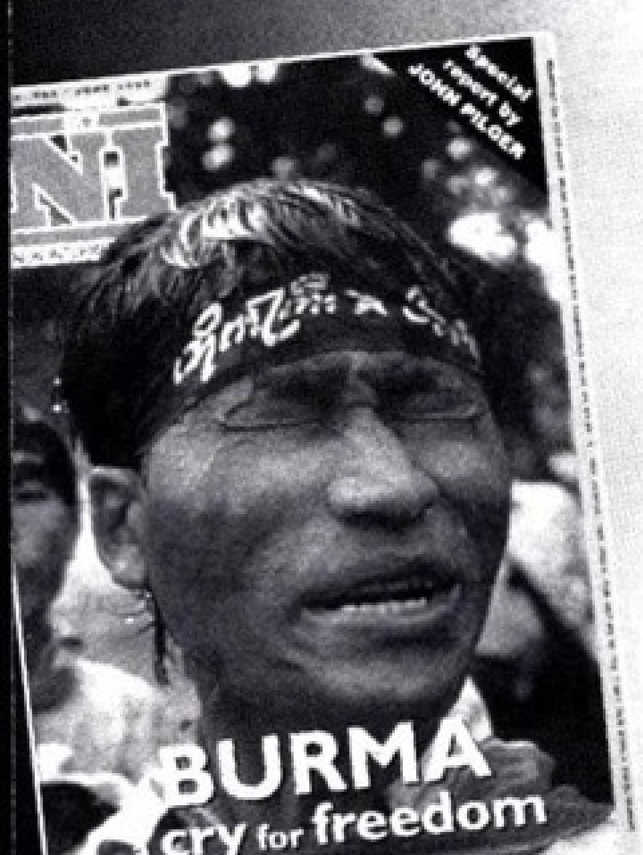

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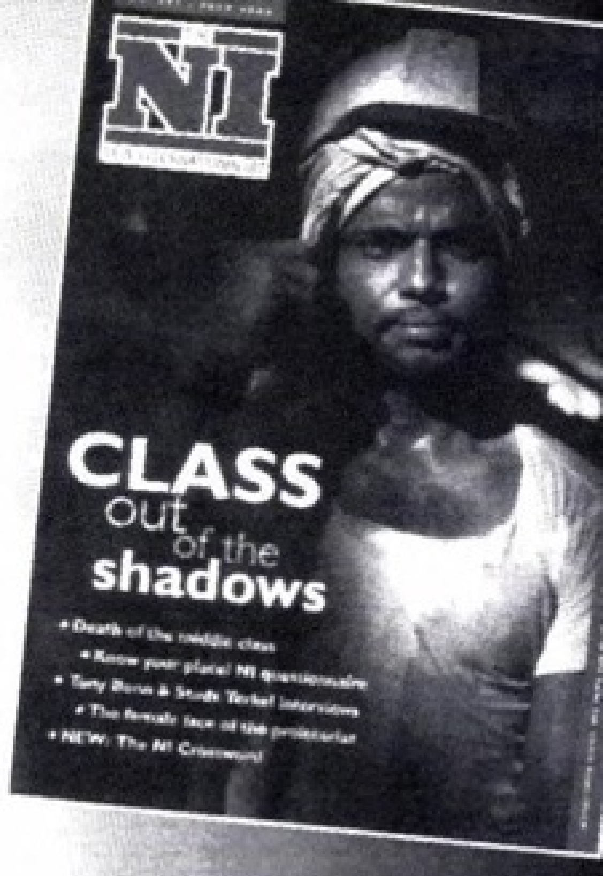

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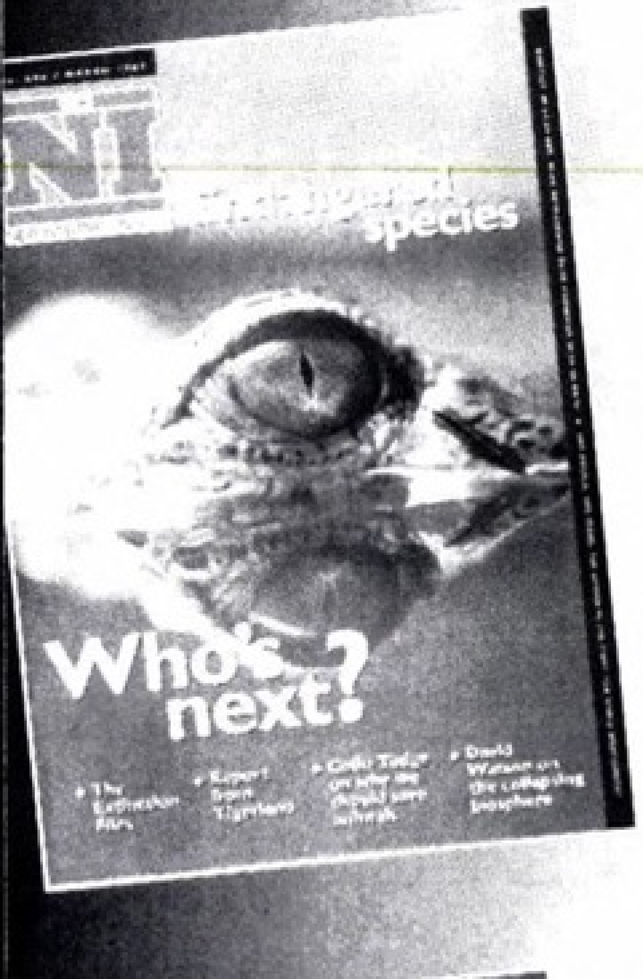

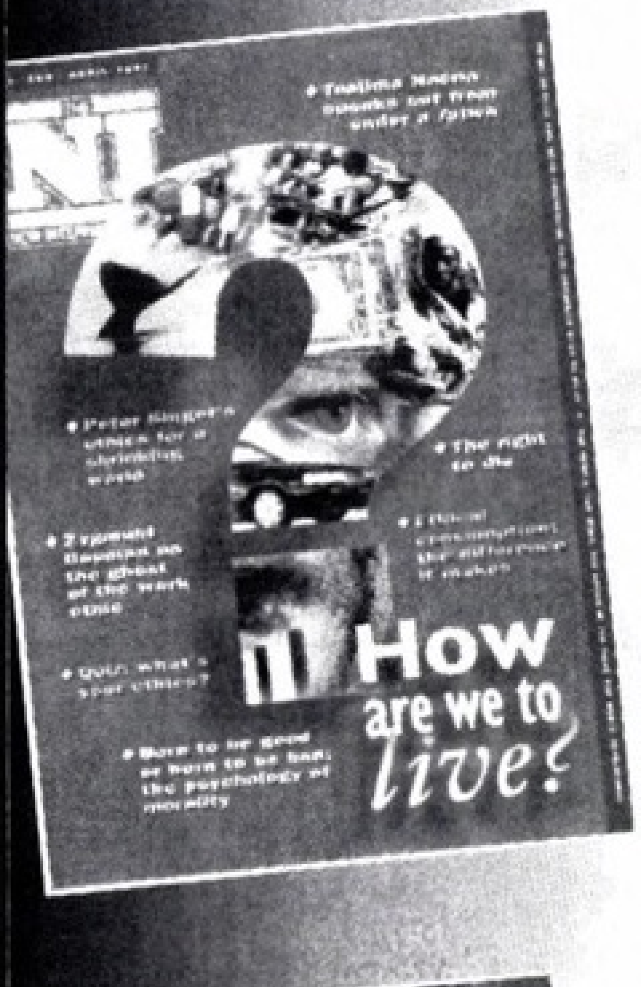

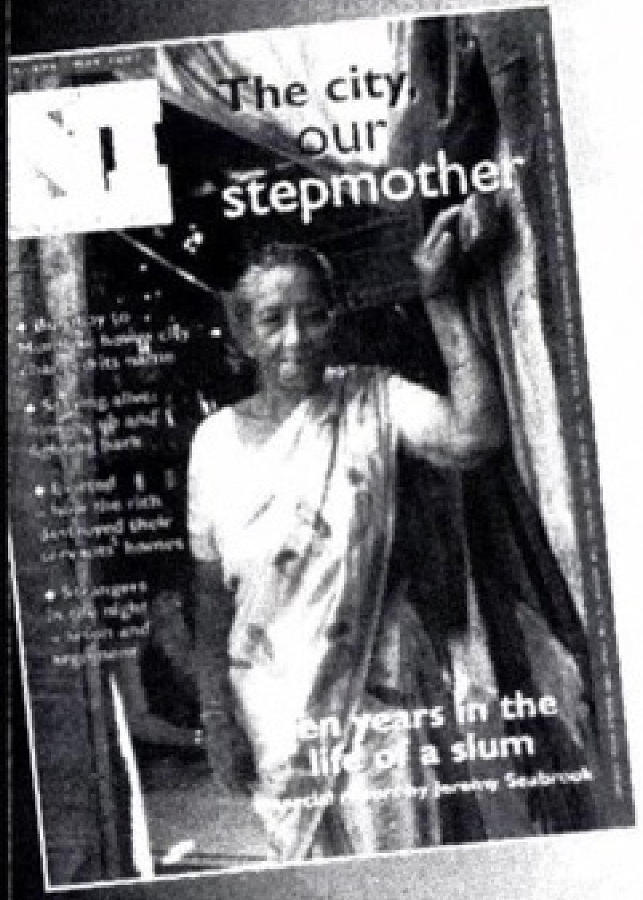

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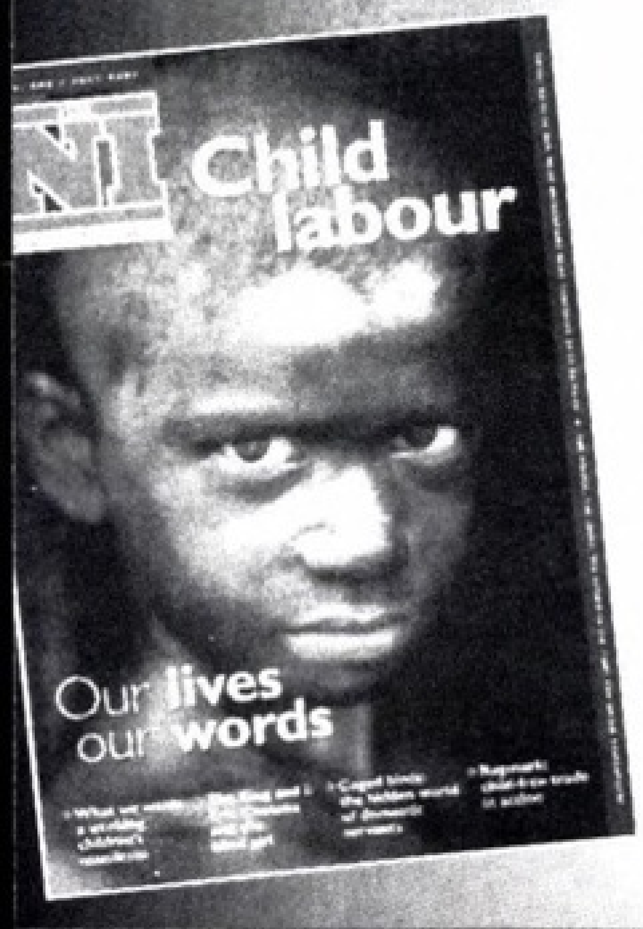

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of terror

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Heaps of trouble

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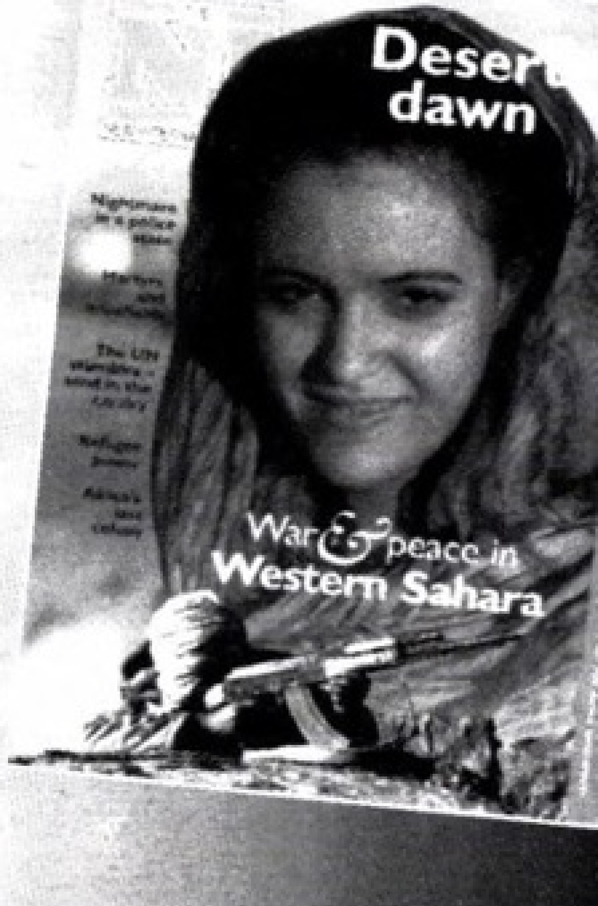
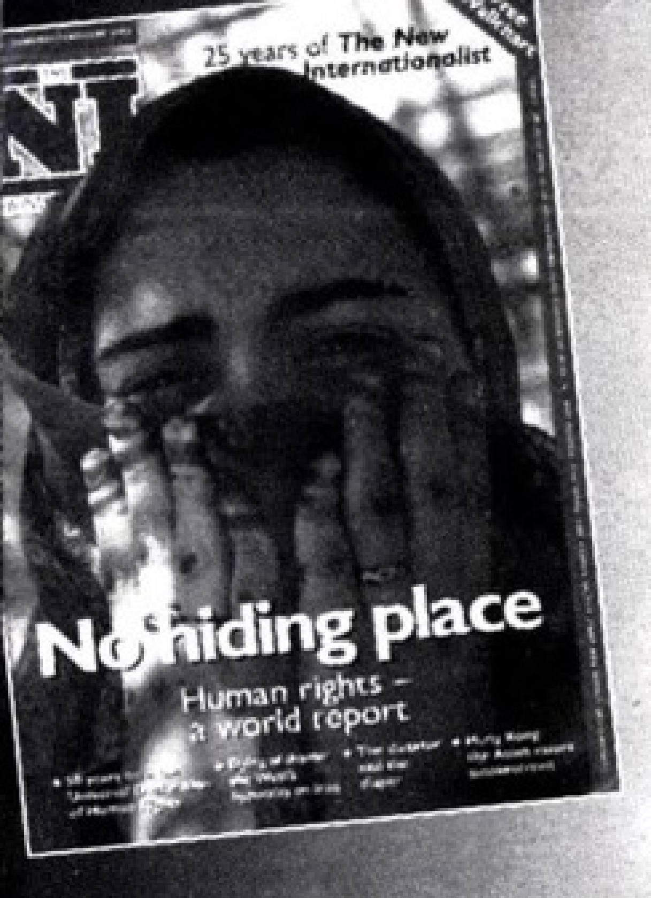
Peeling back
the layers

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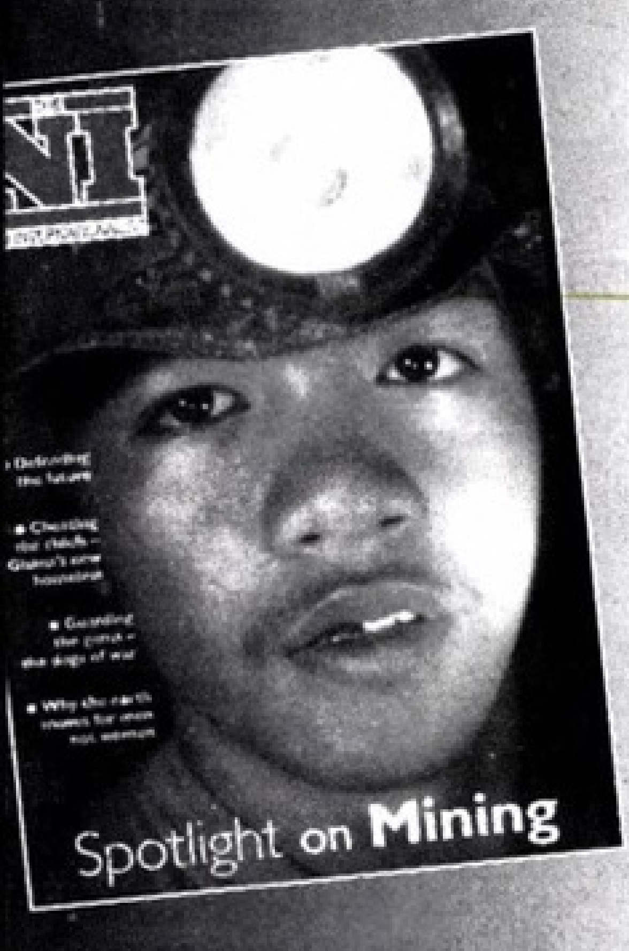

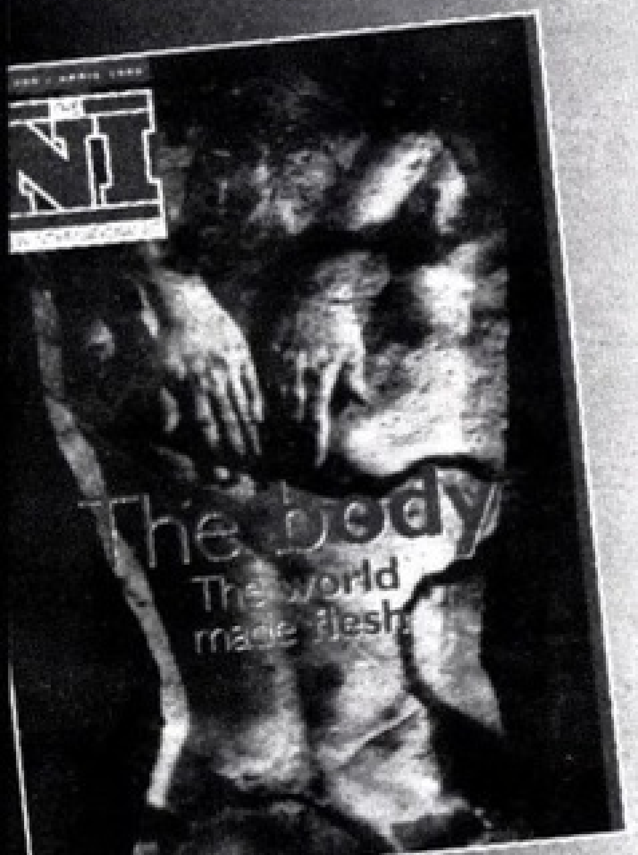

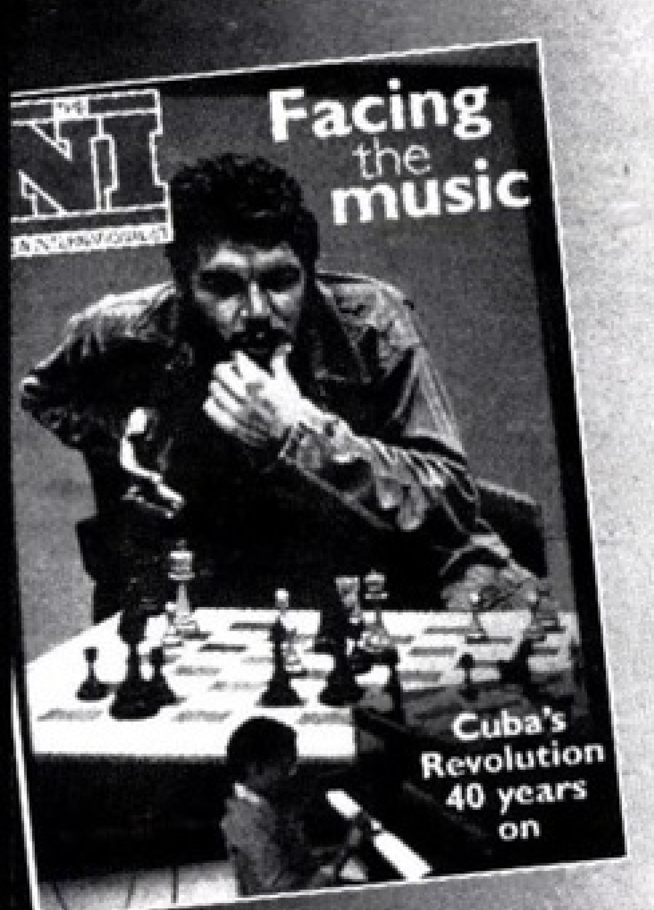

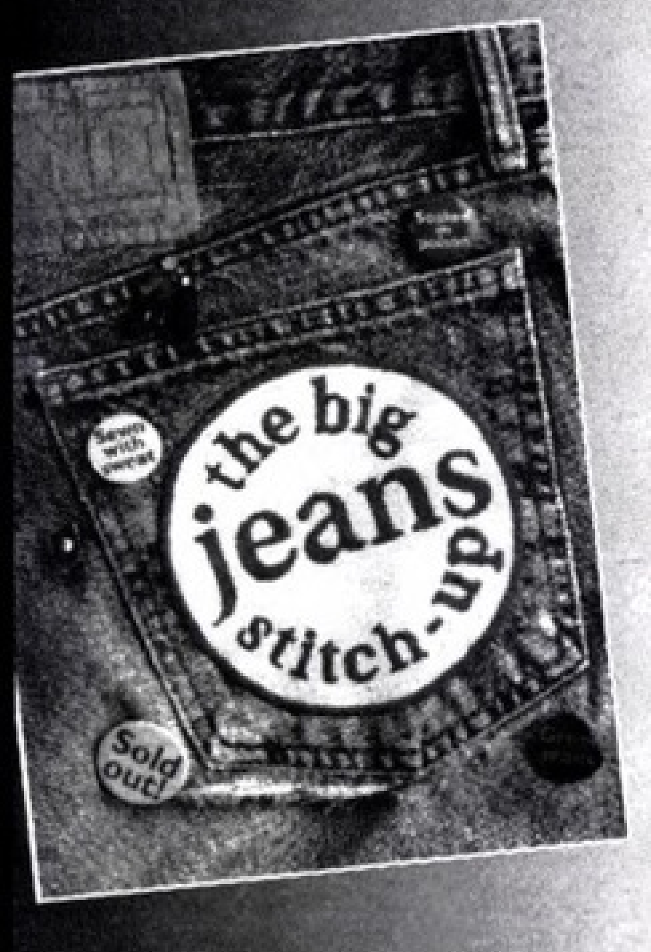

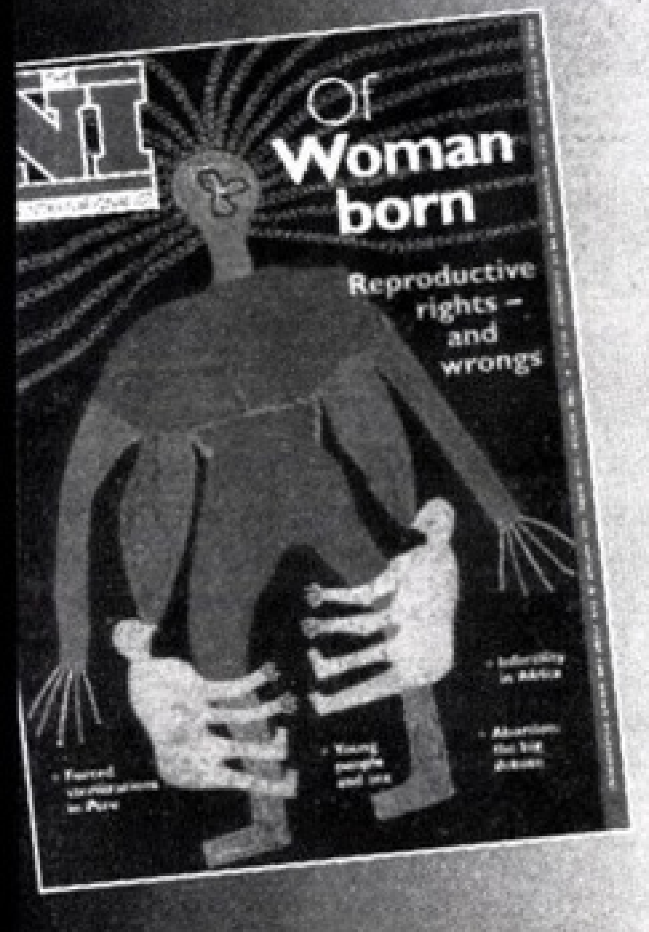

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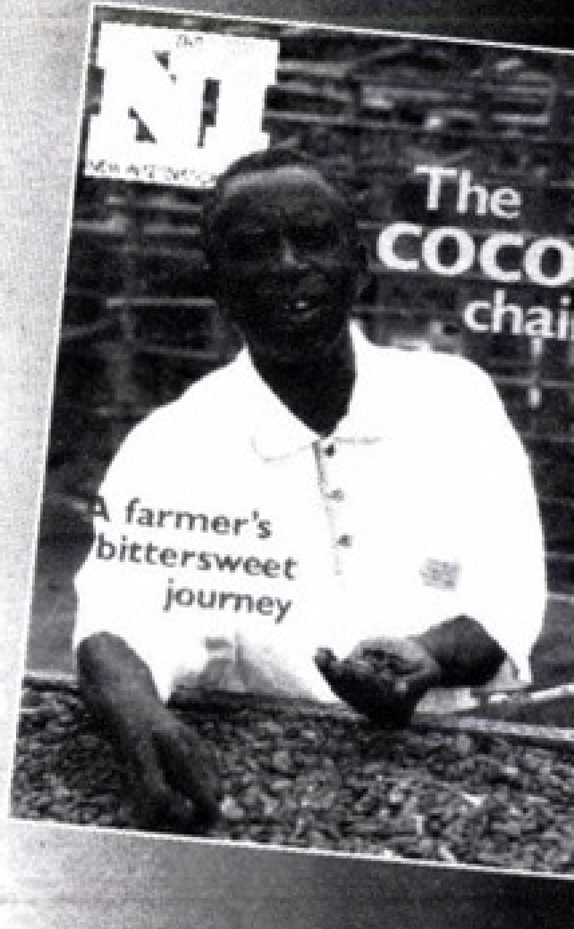

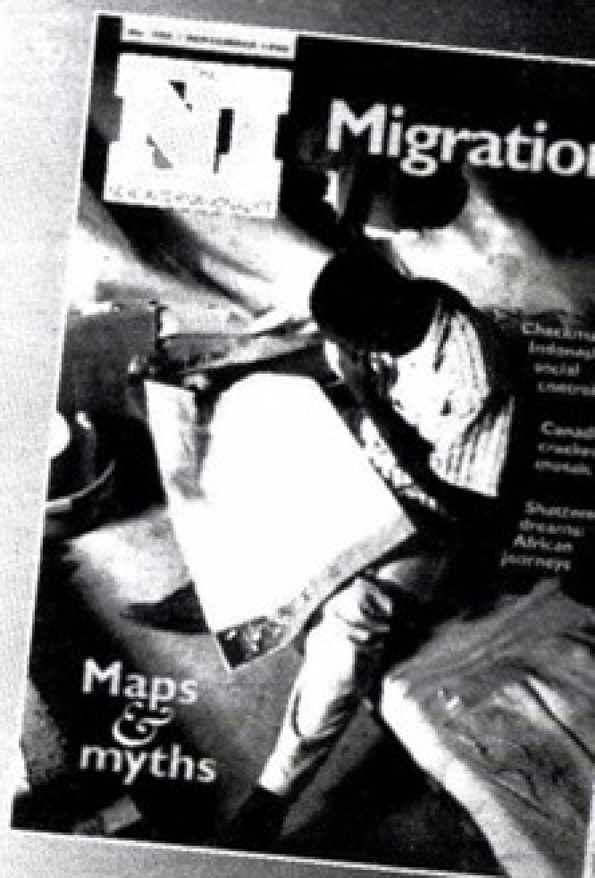

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THE RADICAL Twentieth century

THE NI NEW INTERNATIONALIST

MANDELA FOR PRESIDENT
THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE

1900

WORLD The first Pan-African Congress is held in London but with no delegates from Africa itself, only from the black Diaspora. The Socialist International's fifth congress pledges to organize against militarism. The Marxist Second International opens a permanent office in Brussels.

CHINA The Boxer Rebellion, a violent uprising against the cultural and political influence of the Western Great Powers, culminates in a 56-day siege of the foreign enclaves in Beijing but is eventually ruthlessly put down by Western troops.

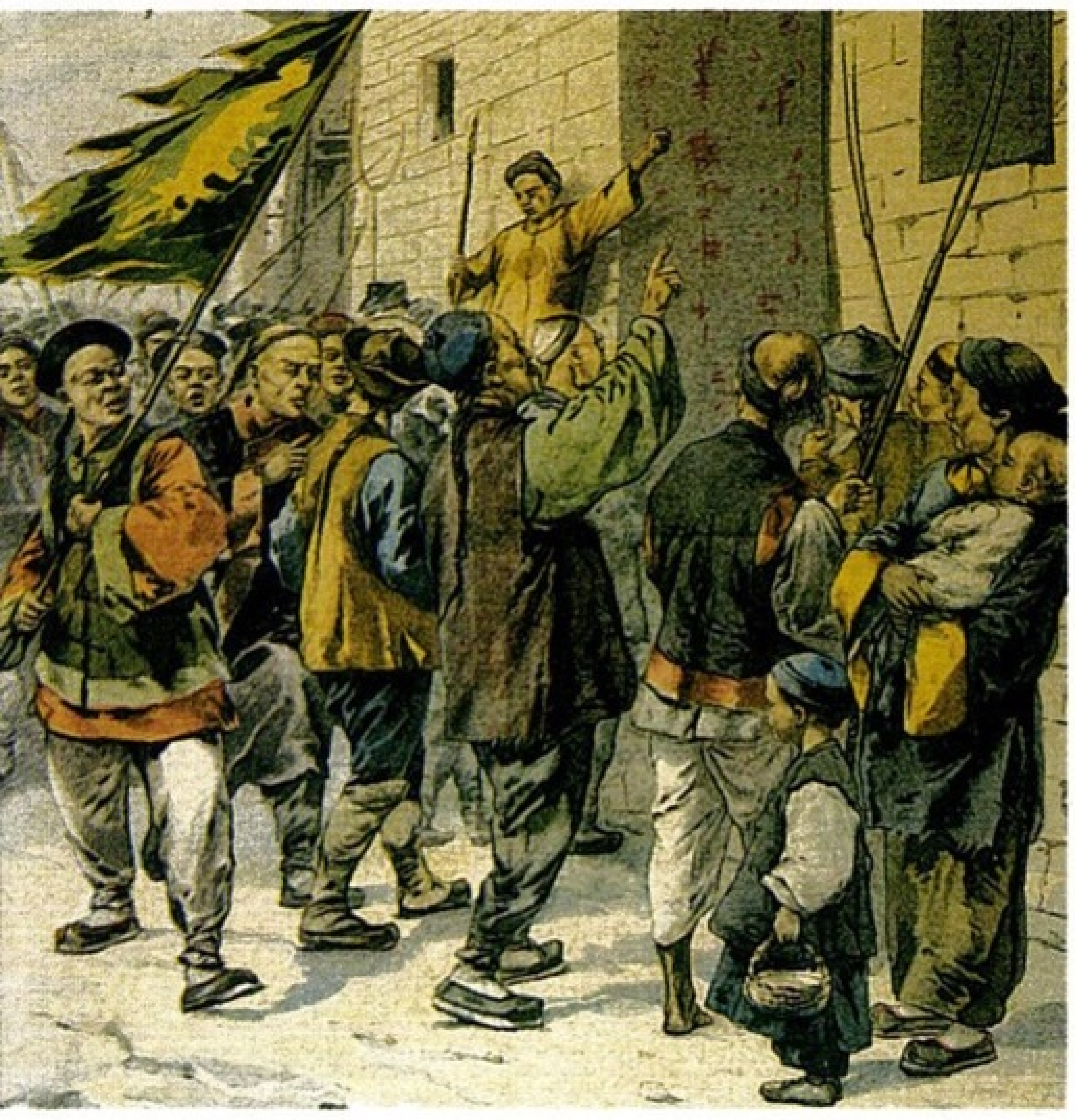
SOUTH AFRICA The Boer War continues as Britain annexes the Boer republics of Orange Free State and Transvaal; the siege of Mafeking is relieved.

WEST AFRICA Thousands of Asante rebels attack Britain's Kumasi fort in Gold Coast.

PHILIPPINES Rebels who began their liberation struggle against the Spanish now fight US rule.

INDIA Drought hits five million and famine kills thousands. British Viceroy Lord Curzon announces famine relief but warns military spending will not be cut to provide more. Tilak emerges to lead the Indian National Congress with a pro-Hindu focus.

BRITAIN The Labour Representation Committee (later to become the Labour Party) is formed.



Anti-Western slogans are posted in China's Boxer Rebellion, kicking off the anti-colonial century.

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ITALY King Umberto I is shot dead by an anarchist.

EAST INDIES Tjoakraminoto leads the challenge to Dutch colonial domination.

TURKEY The Young Turks' Cairo manifesto calls for modernization and an end to Ottoman rule.

BURMA U Ba Pe leads increasing resistance to British imperial control.

1901

AUSTRALIA The new Commonwealth of Australia announces a whites-only immigration policy.

BRITAIN Queen Victoria dies. The monarchs of Europe, most of them relatives, attend her funeral.

RUSSIA Students in St Petersburg set up barricades and call for the Tsar's overthrow – they are joined by the writer Leo Tolstoy.

SOUTH AFRICA Conditions in Britain's concentration camps for Boer families cause international outrage. An official report admits one in three white people joining the camps can expect to die; no figures are offered for deaths of black people.

UNITED STATES President McKinley is shot dead by an anarchist.

WEST AFRICA Britain annexes the Asante Kingdom as part of Gold Coast.

1902

SOUTH AFRICA The Vereeniging Treaty ends the War. Boers must accept British rule but are promised self-government later and that black people will not be granted the vote before that.

RUSSIA The head of the secret police is killed by socialists; thousands die in workers' riots; the Tsar offers talks.

VENEZUELA British and German warships seize the Venezuelan Navy, demanding compensation for their losses in President Castro's 1899 coup.

EGYPT completes a massive Nile dam at Aswan.

1903

CONGO The British Consul attacks the barbarities of the Belgian King Leopold's personal rule.

CENTRAL AMERICA The US backs a rebellion in Panama to throw out Colombians opposed to the Panama Canal.

RUSSIA The Social Democrats split into Bolsheviks ('majority') and Mensheviks ('minority'); Lenin leads the Bolsheviks who seek revolution through a single centralized revolutionary party.

NIGERIA The British-led West African Frontier Force takes Kano and Sokoto; the Sultan flees.

BALKANS Bessarabian peasants massacre scores of Jews; the Serbian King and Queen are murdered by army officers; the Ottoman Turks massacre 50,000 Bulgarians in Macedonia.

KOREA Japan's marines suppress rioting workers.

WORLD Zionist Congress discusses a new Jewish state in Uganda (a site offered by the British).

BRITAIN Emmeline Pankhurst founds a militant women's suffrage group in Manchester.

1904

CUBA US occupation ends, six years after the expulsion of the Spanish.

EAST INDIES The Dutch kill 541 Aceh people in a revolt on Sumatra.

JAPAN and **RUSSIA** go to war in Korea and China.

TIBET Invading British forces kill 500 Tibetans; they reach Lhasa and the Dalai Lama flees. The British withdraw after Tibet agrees not to cede territory to any other foreign power.

NORTH AFRICA France and Britain sign an *entente cordiale* settling their colonial disputes.

NORWAY declares independence from Sweden.

1905

JAPAN wins a crushing victory over Russia, confirming its emergence as a major power.

RUSSIA The Tsar's troops shoot 500 demonstrators dead on Bloody Sunday; sailors mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin; troops kill 6,000 protesters in Odessa; there is a general strike in St Petersburg; the Tsar promises a semi-constitutional monarchy while his forces crush a students' and workers' uprising after a week of street fighting.

UNITED STATES The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) is formed in Chicago. Among those present are 'Big Bill' Haywood and Mother Jones.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA An insurrection by the Herero people is followed by a German revenge campaign driving 5,000 into the desert to die of thirst. Three in four Hereros die.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA Peasants rebel, destroying cotton crops they'd been forced to plant by colonialists.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA The Nandi resistance leader Koitalel is assassinated by a British officer.

BRITAIN Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney become the first two suffragettes to go to prison, sentenced for assaulting the police.

1906

NIGERIA British troops quell protests by Tiv people against Muslim Hausa rule.

SOUTH AFRICA British troops kill 60 Zulus protesting against the poll tax.

RUSSIA The Tsar concedes universal suffrage but dissolves the Duma (parliament).

GUATEMALA is defeated after invading both Honduras and El Salvador.

CUBA US troops invade to suppress the liberal and anti-Yankee revolt of José Gomez.

INDIA The Muslim League's formation is sponsored by the British, who aim to divide and rule. The Indian National Congress adopts the idea of *swaraj* or 'self-rule' for the first time.

1907

PERSIA Muhammad Ali Mirza is crowned Shah; he aims at liberalization.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA The great rebel leader Abdallah Mapanda, co-ordinator of the *maji-maji* uprisings over the last 18 months, is captured.

FINLAND Women are elected to Parliament – a world first.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA The German authorities end the state of emergency after the defeat of almost all Herero rebels.

INDIA Visiting British Labour leader Keir Hardie accuses Britain of running India like the Tsar runs Russia, sparking nationalist riots in Calcutta.

WORLD An international court is proposed.

CONGO King Leopold sells his personal fiefdom to the Belgian state. 100,000 people have been slaughtered every year under his rule. Leopold says the atrocities are 'sad, but one cannot accomplish a great work without doing some evil'.

SOUTH AFRICA White miners strike to preserve skilled jobs for whites only. Gandhi leads Transvaal's Indians in non-violent non-cooperation with a humiliating law.

1908

PORTUGAL Revolution fails but the King and Crown Prince are assassinated.

TURKEY Revolution by the 'Young Turks' forces the Sultan to restore the constitution which has been suspended for 32 years.

WORLD An international conference bans night shifts for children under 14.

BULGARIA declares independence from Turkey.

AUSTRIA annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire despite the preference of the majority for union with Serbia.

CHINA Empress Dowager Cixi dies, leaving two-year-old Puyi as Emperor.

UNITED STATES Theodore Roosevelt becomes first US President to travel abroad – to Panama.

1909

INDIA Nationalists turn to terrorism. London vetoes Indians joining the Viceroy's Council.

BRITAIN Over-70s receive first old-age pension.

SERBIA demands that Austria cede Bosnia-Herzegovina. The European powers agree a formula by which Serbia will renounce its claims.

PERSIA British troops land as fear of famine causes unrest. The Shah breaks a promise of elections; nationalists seize Tehran, imposing a new Shah.

TURKEY Muslims backed by the Sultan massacre 30,000 Armenians. The Young Turks finally oust the Sultan – but install his brother in his place.

FRANCE joins the arms race, spending hundreds of millions on new ships.

CONGO Liberal reforms are announced by Belgium as King Leopold dies. Belgian and British troops clash over the Northern Rhodesia border.

SPAIN An anti-government revolt in Catalonia leaves 1,000 dead. Anarchist Francisco Ferrer is shot by firing squad.

EGYPT A congress of youth demands the British withdraw from the country.

NICARAGUA The US ousts the President.

JAPAN The country's first Prime Minister, Prince Ito Hirobumi, latterly ruler of Korea, is shot dead by a Korean nationalist.

1910

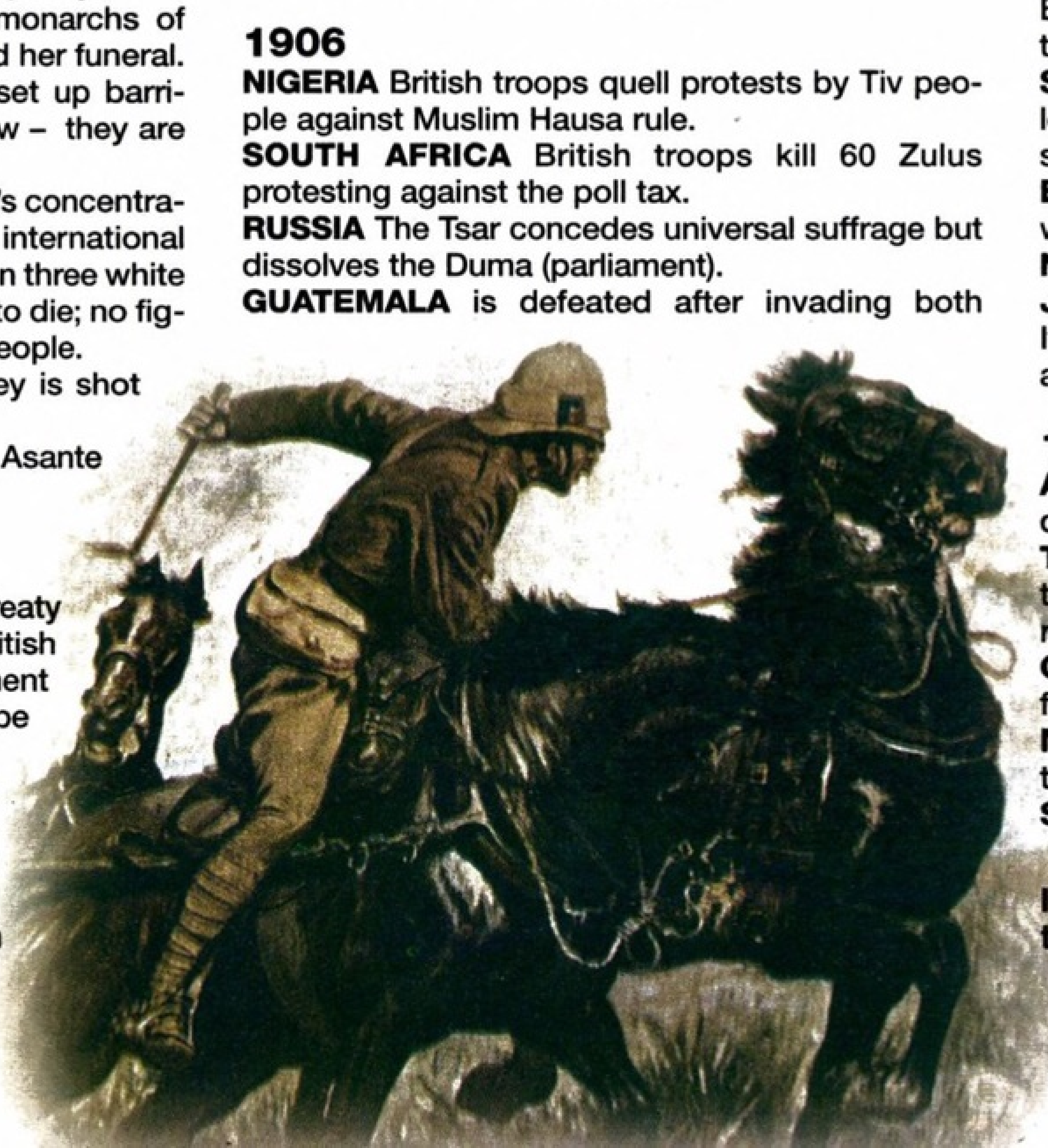
AFRICA Belgium, Britain and Germany fix the borders of Congo, Uganda and German East Africa.

TIBET The Dalai Lama flees to India as Chinese troops invade Lhasa – only two months after his return from exile in Beijing.

GERMANY Socialists are shot and sabred in a suffrage demonstration in Berlin.

MONTENEGRO declares its independence from the Ottoman Empire.

SOUTH AFRICA An Afrikaner nationalist wins the



In the Boer War, the British overcome guerrilla resistance but pioneer the use of concentration camps.

PAINTING BY GEORGE SCOTT

VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN

Banging the drum: women's suffrage campaigns, like this one in the US, become more militant.

HULTON-DEUTSCH / CORBIS

first South African elections.

PORTUGAL After a republican coup the monarchy and the nobility are abolished.

RUSSIA Tolstoy dies as a peasant, having renounced his lands out of egalitarian conviction.

KOREA is annexed by Japan.

MEXICO Revolution stirs as the country's dictator for almost 45 years, Porfirio Díaz, fixes an election victory over liberal reformer Francisco Madero, who has the support of guerrilla leaders Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata.

1911

NICARAGUA The US acknowledges José Estrada's new government and withdraws troops.

BRITAIN Three anarchists are besieged by 1,000 troops and police in a London house. They burn to death after Home Secretary Winston Churchill refuses to allow in the fire brigade. A railway and docks strike leads to nationwide riots in which protesters are shot dead under Churchill's orders.

GERMANY The funeral of socialist leader Paul Singer is attended by 750,000.

NORWAY Anna Rogstadt becomes the first woman Member of Parliament.

MEXICO US troops cross the Rio Grande and fight the rebels under Madero, who refuses a ceasefire. Crowds take to the streets to support the rebels. Díaz resigns and Madero becomes President.

MOROCCO Rebellion breaks out. Fez is besieged, causing European panic. France sends troops to occupy Fez. Germany sends a gunboat but agrees to French control in return for dominion over a million people formerly under French rule in Central Africa.

PORTUGAL Women win the vote. A royalist revolt against the new republic is put down.

LIBYA Italy drops bombs from aeroplanes on Turkish-held Tripoli: a first in history.

RUSSIA Jewish socialist lawyer Mordkha Bogrov assassinates Premier Peter Stolypin.

CHINA Five-year-old Emperor Pu Yi agrees too late to a new constitution as republican revolution sweeps the country. Sun Yatsen becomes leader of a provisional republican government.

INDIA King George V is crowned Emperor of India, founding New Delhi to replace Calcutta as capital.

1912

CHINA The north's Yuan Shikai becomes the first President but he has no power over the south.

BRITAIN Suffragettes smash shop windows throughout London's West End and hurl stones at 10 Downing Street. 120 are arrested, including leader Emmeline Pankhurst. Suffragettes on hunger strike are force-fed in prison. A campaign of window smashing at post offices begins.

HULTON-DEUTSCH / CORBIS

RUSSIA The first issue of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* appears.

MOROCCO becomes a French protectorate.

GERMANY The naval arms race with Britain goes into overdrive.

BALKANS Albania is given limited autonomy by its Turkish rulers. **Bulgaria** and **Serbia** demand the independence of Macedonia from **Turkey**. The Balkan League of Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece declares war and Bulgarian troops push back the Turks as far as Constantinople. An armistice is signed between all warring countries except Greece. Albania declares independence. Europe fears the war will spread continentwide.

LIBYA is given up to Italy by the Turks as they concentrate on their Balkan problem.

INDIA A bomb wounds the British Governor-General as he rides an elephant to celebrate the opening of the new capital in Delhi.

SOUTH AFRICA The African National Congress (ANC) is formed to fight racial discrimination.

1913

TURKEY The Young Turks bring down the Government, outraged by concessions to the Balkan League in peace talks. 5,000 Turks die in renewed battle with Bulgaria at Gallipoli. The new Grand Vizier is assassinated.

BRITAIN Suffragette leader Emmeline Pankhurst is given three years in prison for blowing up Lloyd George's new golf villa. Emily Davison tries to stop the King's horse at the Derby and dies from her injuries. Thousands watch her funeral procession. Suffragettes bomb ministers' country homes.

MEXICO The nephew of the former dictator Díaz seizes the capital; President Madero is deposed, arrested and shot dead. The new President, General Huerta, promises 'a strict investigation'. He dissolves Congress and declares himself dictator. Pancho Villa rebels again and captures Ciudad Juárez.

EUROPE Socialists in Germany and France produce an anti-war manifesto.

GREECE King George I is assassinated after 50 years on the throne. He was second son of the Danish King when invited to be Greek monarch.

CHINA Elections result in the country's first parliament ever but civil war breaks out. Yuan Shikai dismisses parliament and declares himself dictator.

BELGIUM Coalminers prompt a general strike.

WORLD An International Women's Peace Conference is held in The Hague.

BALKANS A peace treaty is finally signed but **Bulgaria** goes to war with former allies **Greece** and **Serbia** over the former Turkish province of Macedonia. **Romania** soon joins the fray.

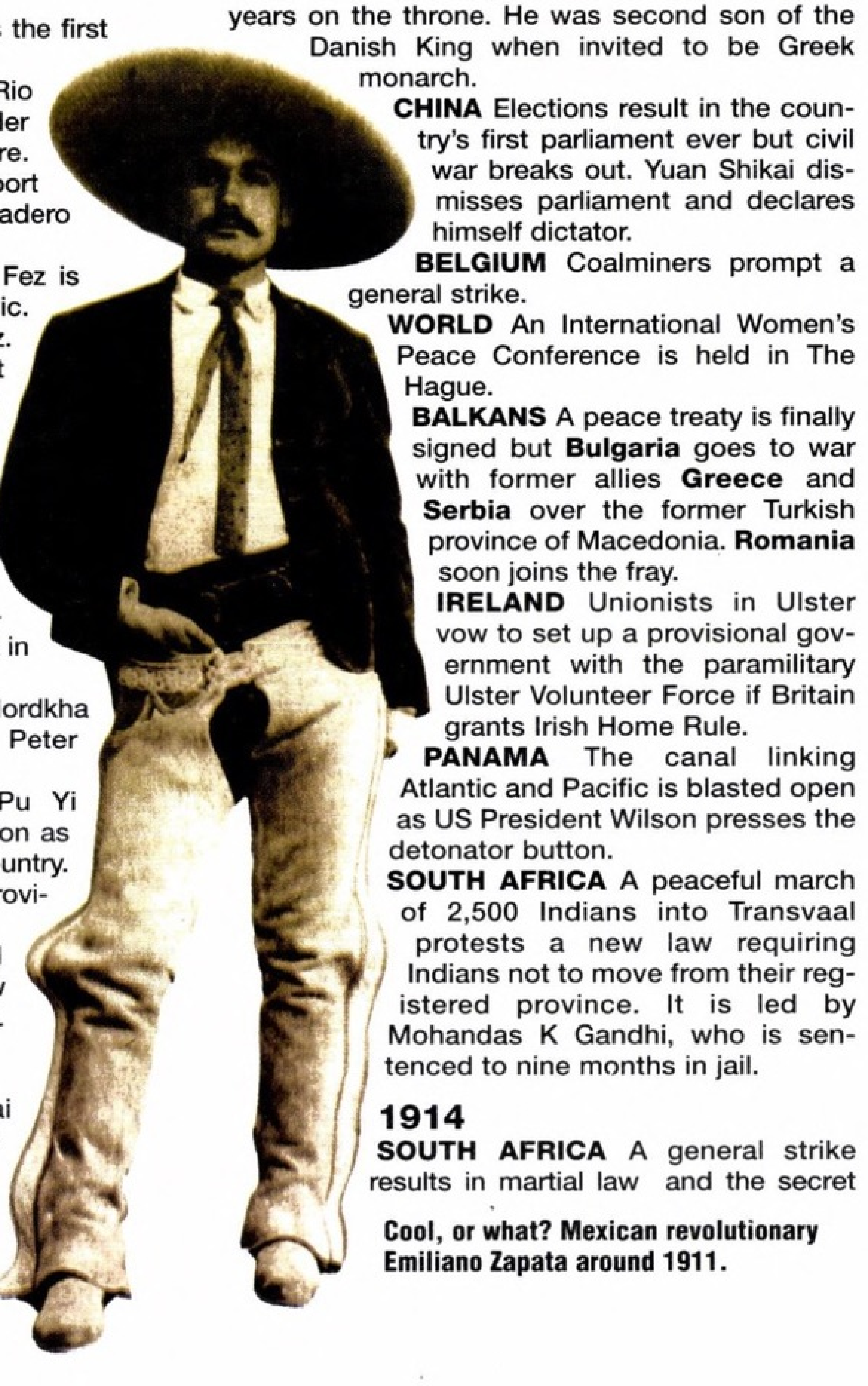
IRELAND Unionists in Ulster vow to set up a provisional government with the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force if Britain grants Irish Home Rule.

PANAMA The canal linking Atlantic and Pacific is blasted open as US President Wilson presses the detonator button.

SOUTH AFRICA A peaceful march of 2,500 Indians into Transvaal protests a new law requiring Indians not to move from their registered province. It is led by Mohandas K Gandhi, who is sentenced to nine months in jail.

1914

SOUTH AFRICA A general strike results in martial law and the secret deportation of ten strike leaders.



Cool, or what? Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata around 1911.

MEXICO 3,000 US marines seize the port of Vera Cruz. A peace agreement leaves the US in control of the city as the dictator Huerta resigns.

BOSNIA The heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, is shot dead by a Serb, Gavrilo Princip.

WORLD Austria declares war on **Serbia** and invades. **Russia** mobilizes in support of Serbia and **Germany** declares war on Russia and France. **Britain** declares war when Germany invades **Belgium**. **Japan** declares war on Germany. Britain's colonies join the war: **New Zealand** forces occupy German-controlled Samoa; **Australians** invade German New Guinea; **South African** troops attack German South-West Africa; **Indian** troops are sent to fight in German East Africa.

British women's suffrage leader (and bomber) Emmeline Pankhurst

HULTON-DEUTSCH / CORBIS

FRANCE The British and the French repel German forces threatening Paris but most of Belgium falls. Both sides dig trenches and set up barbed wire to secure their positions. At Christmas opposing troops leave the trenches to sing and play soccer together; they have to be ordered back in line by officers.

BRITAIN A wave of anti-German feeling sweeps the country, resulting in hundreds of nasty attacks. Concentration camps are set up for suspected 'spies'.

1915

UNITED STATES The IWW's Joe Hill is shot by firing squad in Utah. His last words are 'Don't waste time in mourning. Organize!'

BRITAIN Women are urged to take on all forms of work to back the war effort; suffragette leaders welcome the move and 33,000 women sign up within a month. The Trades Union Congress opposes conscription. Radical papers are closed down including the socialist *Labour Leader*, *Forward*, and the anti-conscription *Tribunal*.

FRANCE The Germans use chlorine gas in battle for the first time.

POLAND Germany drives back Russian forces, capturing Warsaw. Josef Pilsudski launches a Polish independence movement.

BALKANS Bulgaria joins the war on the German side and attacks Serbia; Belgrade falls.

TURKEY Tens of thousands of Australian and New Zealand troops die at Gallipoli in a disastrous eight-month campaign to gain access to Russia's Black Sea ports via the Dardanelles.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY Thomas Masaryk issues a manifesto demanding Czech independence.

1916

IRELAND Republicans revolt against British rule in the Easter Rising, capturing part of Dublin's centre. They are bombarded into submission and the seven rebel leaders executed.

MEXICO Rebel leader Pancho Villa leads a raid into the US, killing 17. He is pursued back into Mexico by 6,000 US soldiers and captured.

MIDDLE EAST Britain and France agree to carve up the former Turkish empire between them after the War, with Britain to run Palestine and Mesopotamia and France to get Syria. They concede some areas should receive Arab self-rule.

NORWAY Women win the vote.

WORLD Socialist pacifists attend an International Socialist Conference in Kienthal, Switzerland. US President Wilson proposes a League of Nations.

GERMANY Socialist Karl Liebknecht leads peace demonstrations which spread to 35 cities. Liebknecht is sentenced to four years in prison.

UNITED STATES President Wilson promises a suffrage meeting that women will be given the vote. Jeanette Rankin of Montana becomes the first female member of Congress. Oil magnate JD Rockefeller becomes the world's first billionaire.

ROMANIA enters the war against Germany.

ARABIA Arab revolt against Turkish rule grows.

TURKEY Half a million Armenians are massacred and a million deported by the Turkish authorities.

FRANCE The British and French armies respond to the German assault on Verdun by launching a major offensive on the Somme. Tens of thousands are mown down by machine guns in one day for next to no gain in territory. Tanks are used for the first time. By the end of year 500,000 Allies and 650,000 Germans are dead in the Somme Battle; and 364,000 and 338,000 respectively at Verdun.

1917

RUSSIA The Tsar is forced to abdicate amid mounting popular protest at the War and the worsening food situation. The throne passes to his brother but power lies with a Provisional Government. Lenin returns from exile demanding power for workers' councils or *soviets* and an end to the War. A Bolshevik uprising brings half-a-million people on to the streets but is crushed – Lenin flees to Finland in disguise. Kerensky becomes Prime Minister and declares Russia a republic. The Bolsheviks stage a successful coup in the capital, Petrograd, and take power demanding 'Peace, land, bread, and all power to the Soviets'.

MIDDLE EAST British and Indian troops capture Baghdad and Gaza from the Turks.

UNITED STATES declares war on Germany – among opponents is Congress's only female member, Jeanette Rankin. US troops head for France.

LATIN AMERICA Brazil, Panama and **Cuba** all declare war on Germany.

FRANCE Rank-and-file French, British and Canadian soldiers rebel against the inhuman conditions in the trenches. Hundreds are shot by their own officers.

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German socialist martyr Rosa Luxemburg, 1919.

BRITAIN gives the vote to married women over 30.

CHINA New President Feng Kuachang declares war on Germany.

PALESTINE The British capture Jerusalem. They declare their support for a Jewish homeland.

1918

RUSSIA accepts Germany's peace terms, surrendering Poland and Lithuania and acknowledging the independence of Ukraine. Civil war between the Red Army and the anti-Bolshevik Whites begins. The Tsar and his family are executed. Britain and the US send forces to help the Whites.

FRANCE Germany uses troops from the pacified Eastern front in a new offensive which is halted just 70 kilometres from Paris. American troops enable the Allies to mount a decisive campaign.

SYRIA Arab forces led by Emir Feisal and TE Lawrence take Damascus from the Turks.

GERMANY surrenders. The Kaiser abdicates and flees as revolution takes hold. Seven other German kings, princes and dukes are chased out of their castles. The Spartacists of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg declare a free socialist republic but social democrat Friedrich Ebert assumes control and clamps down on revolutionaries.

EUROPE Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and **Yugoslavia** emerge as independent nations from the ashes of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

PORTUGAL President Paes is assassinated.

WORLD The death toll at the end of the First World War tops ten million.

1919

WORLD The worldwide influenza epidemic has killed 20 million, twice as many as died in the War.

TURKEY A further 1.5 million Armenians are massacred in a wave of ethnic scapegoating.

GERMANY The Spartacist revolutionaries take to the streets and seize public buildings. But ordinary workers do not respond and troops suppress the revolt. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht are murdered by right-wing paramilitaries. Soldiers' and workers' councils declare Bavaria a socialist republic but troops from Berlin put down the revolution.

RUSSIA The Communist International or Comintern is established as a means of fomenting revolution worldwide.

HUNGARY Communists led by Bela Kun take over but are ousted by counter-revolutionary forces and Romanian troops within 133 days.

ITALY Benito Mussolini founds the Fasci di Combattimento or Fascist Party.

MEXICO Rebel leader Emiliano Zapata is killed by government troops.

WORLD The League of Nations is established, to be based in Geneva, but its architect, US President Wilson, cannot persuade Congress to join. The Versailles Peace Conference imposes humiliating terms on Germany, involving huge financial reparations. British leader Lloyd George says the terms demanded by the French are so harsh that 'we shall have to fight another war all over again in 25 years at three times the cost'.

NORTH AMERICA Major strikes break out in Winnipeg, Boston and Seattle as returning soldiers discover the labour conditions they are expected to put up with.

INDIA British troops open fire on a peaceful demonstration in Amritsar, killing 379 and wounding 1,200. The shooting follows rioting prompted by Mohandas K Gandhi's call for a *hartal* or business strike protesting the new security laws.

IRELAND Sinn Fein forms a provisional Irish Parliament, or Dail Eireann, with Eamon de Valera as President. Britain sends troops to disband it.

BRITAIN A US-born Viscountess, Nancy Astor, becomes the first woman to sit in Parliament. The first woman elected was a Sinn Fein member for Dublin in 1918 who refused to take her seat.

1920

UNITED STATES Women are given the vote but the two greatest American campaigners for it, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B Anthony have not lived to see it. 2,700 radicals are arrested in a swoop on 'Reds' by the Attorney-General; membership of a communist party is ruled sufficient grounds for deportation. The manufacture and sale of alcohol is prohibited.

UKRAINE 29,000 Jews are massacred.

GERMANY Machine guns are turned on the crowd as a peaceful left-wing demonstration turns into an assault on the Reichstag (parliament). The National Socialist German Workers' Party is launched; its spokesperson Adolf Hitler deplores the Versailles Treaty and Jewish and capitalist influence in Germany.

RUSSIA Trotsky's Red Army is victorious against the Whites.

HUNGARY Miklos Horthy becomes dictator.

PALESTINE The League of Nations awards Britain the mandate to rule. Jews and Arabs clash: the British impose martial law.

IRELAND The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is formed. The British deploy ruthless special constables, the 'Black and Tans'. Hunger striker Michael Fitzgerald dies after 68 days' fast, soon followed by Tomas MacSwiney, Mayor of Cork. The IRA kills 14 British officers in their beds; 300 police barracks are attacked. Martial law is declared.

POLAND declares war on Russia and repels the Red Army from Warsaw, with British air support.

WORLD The International Feminist Congress is held in Geneva.

MEXICO Rebel Pancho Villa finally surrenders in return for a pension.

TURKEY is forced to sign the Treaty of Sèvres, under which it loses 80 per cent of the former Ottoman Empire.

INDIA The Indian National Congress adopts Gandhi's programme for non-violent non-cooperation with British rule.

LEBANON is created by France.

BRITAIN Sylvia Pankhurst is jailed for six months for calling on workers to loot the docks.

1921

IRELAND Britain sends in tanks to Dublin. Sinn Fein wins 124 of 128 southern Irish seats; Ulster Unionists win 40 of 52 northern Irish seats. De Valera agrees to a ceasefire so that talks can begin. At negotiations in London, IRA leader Michael Collins signs a treaty agreeing to the partition of Ireland between an independent south and a north that will be part of the new United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

RUSSIA Trotsky crushes an insurrection by sailors in Kronstadt. Lenin reintroduces capitalist enterprise in an attempt to kick-start the economy but too late to stave off mass famine. Lenin calls for international aid; the US responds.

RWANDA is ceded to Britain by Belgium.

GERMANY is forced to accept a huge war-reparations bill, faced by a military threat from the British and French. Hitler becomes leader of the National Socialists. The mark goes into freefall.

CHINA Sun Yatsen is elected President but civil war breaks out again between north and south. A

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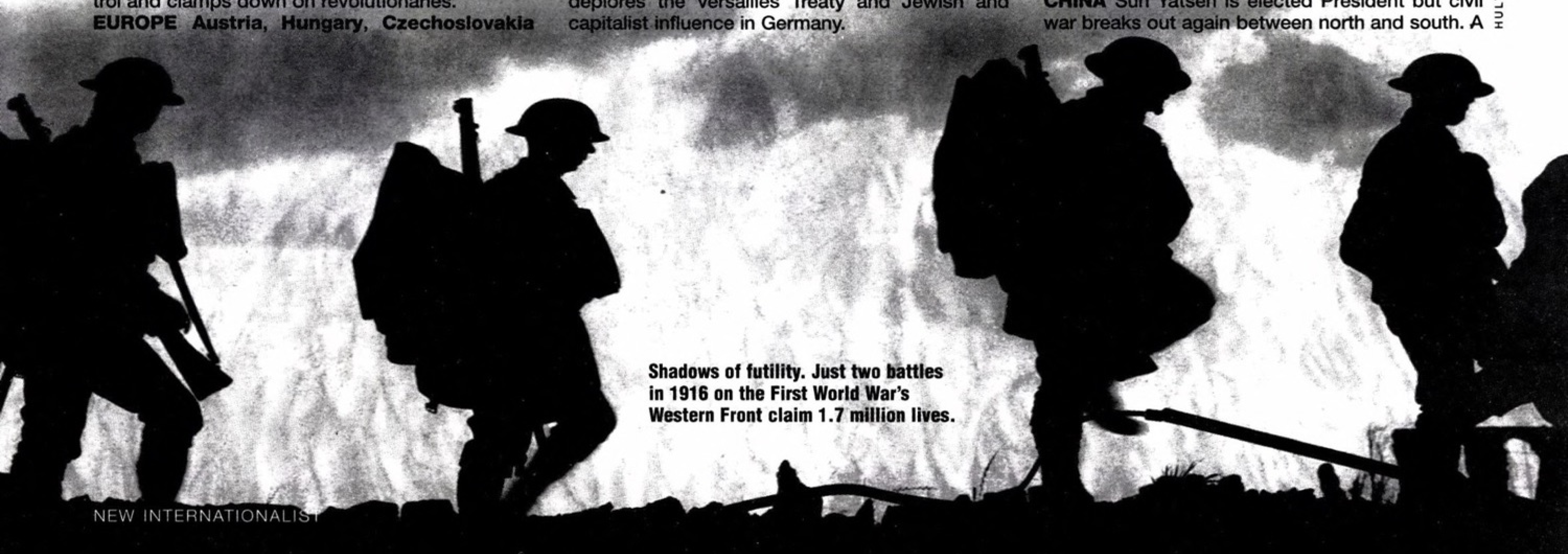

Shadows of futility. Just two battles in 1916 on the First World War's Western Front claim 1.7 million lives.

All power to the soviets! – slogan of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

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Communist Party is launched in Shanghai.
MONGOLIA declares its independence from China as the world's second communist state.
MOROCCO Spain's 2,000-strong garrison at Melilla is wiped out by Berber rebels under Abdel Krim, who declares an independent republic in the hills and inspires Muslim nationalists all over North Africa.
TURKEY Mustafa Kemal successfully leads a defence against Greek troops claiming the Aegean coast; he becomes ruler.
UNITED STATES The racist Ku Klux Klan takes over a university in Georgia, saying it will teach 'Americanism'.
INDIA Gandhi sets light to a huge bonfire of foreign cloth and clothing during the visit of the heir to the British throne.
ITALY Mussolini's Fascists, funded by business, win 35 parliamentary seats; his blackshirts regularly beat up socialists and break strikes.

1922

IRELAND The Dail narrowly approves the treaty setting up the Irish Free State but de Valera rejects it. Pro-Treaty nationalists win the first general election by a large margin but civil war breaks out as the anti-Treaty IRA fights the troops of the new government and its former leader Michael Collins, who is shot dead in Cork.
INDIA Congress suspends its civil-disobedience campaign due to excessive violence. Gandhi is sentenced to six years in prison for sedition.
EGYPT is granted independence by Britain and the Sultan becomes King Fuad. But nationalists shout fraud: Britain retains control of defence and the Suez Canal. King Fuad claims Sudan.
SOUTH AFRICA White miners strike in protest at semi-skilled jobs being offered to non-whites.
RUSSIA Lenin repudiates all debts incurred under the Tsar but is incapacitated by a stroke. Russia renames its empire the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).
CHINA Southern forces led by General Wu Peifu capture Beijing, ending a year of civil war.
ITALY Workers at Fiat's car factory in Turin strike against US production-line techniques but the army is called in. Mussolini's Fascists capture the cities of Fiume and Bologna by military force. They break up a Communist-led strike in Milan and seize control of the city. 24,000 blackshirts march unopposed into Rome and King Victor Emmanuel agrees to Mussolini becoming dictator.
TURKEY defeats Greece in war, claiming back Thrace. Mustafa Kemal abolishes the monarchy.
UNITED STATES At least 57 black people are lynched by racist mobs in the course of the year as Ku Klux Klan-inspired violence mounts.
POLAND President Pilsudski resigns; his successor is assassinated after two days.

1923

GERMANY French troops occupy the Ruhr to extract coal and timber as reparations. Germany unites in opposition. Hyper-inflation takes off: a loaf of bread that cost 250 marks in January costs 200,000,000,000 marks in November. President Ebert declares a state of emergency. Hitler's support soars in Bavaria, whose right-wing leader von Kahr declares independence from Germany. At least 1,000 shops are looted in Berlin during anti-semitic rioting. Hitler attempts a putsch, calling for Bavarians to march on Berlin: he is imprisoned.
ITALY Mussolini rounds up hundreds of socialists and dissolves all opposition parties.
UNITED STATES Two Louisiana judges and 30 New York police are revealed to be members of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan refuses to release its membership list but claims to be a million strong.
INDIA Congress resumes civil disobedience.
MEXICO Pancho Villa is murdered by men linked to four of his victims during the Revolution.
JAPAN Tokyo is destroyed by an earthquake, killing 300,000 and making 2.5 million homeless.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES / CORBIS

SOUTHERN RHODESIA Britain agrees to an autonomous (but white-only) government.
TURKEY becomes a republic with Mustafa Kemal as its first President.

1924

USSR Lenin dies: a council of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin succeeds him, excluding Leon Trotsky.
BRITAIN has its first Labour Government. Ramsay MacDonald appoints a Cabinet with 11 out of 20 ministers of working-class origin. A second election results in a Conservative landslide after right-wingers forge a letter to Labour leaders from the Russian leader Zinoviev.
TURKEY Mustafa Kemal pursues a radical programme of modernization and westernization.
ITALY Mussolini's Fascists win a huge electoral majority; socialist Giacomo Matteotti denounces their intimidation and fraud – and is murdered by a gang of Fascists ten days later.
BRAZIL 250 die as rebels take São Paulo.
INDIA Hindus and Muslims clash; Gandhi begins a 21-day hunger strike as 'a penance and a prayer'.
USSR A rebellion in Georgia is savagely put down; seven million are hungry after the harvest fails.
CHINA The Northern forces' headquarters in Shanghai falls as the civil war continues.

1925

USSR Trotsky is ousted from the Communist leadership by Stalin and put under house arrest. His key friends and supporters are arrested or exiled.
CHILE The military overthrows the Government in a coup d'état.
ITALY Mussolini's police swoop on opponents and journalists, extinguishing the remaining elements of democracy.
TURKEY Kurds rebel against Kemal's government.
CHINA Sun Yatsen dies. Chiang Kaishek succeeds him as leader of the southern nationalist party, the Kuomintang. The civil war rages on.
GERMANY elects its first President, right-wing candidate Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg. Hitler publishes *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle).
MOROCCO Abdel Krim's rebels take on the French colonial forces.
SOUTH AFRICA Non-whites are barred from skilled and semi-skilled jobs by a new law. Afrikaans becomes the official language.

1926

SAUDI ARABIA becomes a new state, ruled by King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, after a 24-year military campaign by the Arab leader to unite the Hejaz region under the rule of his clan.
PERSIA Former cavalry officer and prime minister Reza Khan Pahlevi crowns himself Shah.
INDIA Communal battles between Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta kill at least 100.
BRITAIN A general strike begins in support of coalminers protesting at wage cuts. It lasts just nine days – but the miners fight on alone for six months. 100,000 women march for peace.
MOROCCO Abdel Krim's rebellion is crushed by a huge Franco-Spanish force. He is exiled to Reunion island.
POLAND Pilsudski seizes power.
DUTCH EAST INDIES Nationalists in Java rebel against Dutch rule.
CHINA Chiang Kaishek's Kuomintang captures Hankow; it is winning the war.
WORLD **Canada**, **Australia**, **New Zealand**, **South Africa** and **Newfoundland** are given equal status to Britain within the new 'Commonwealth'.

1927

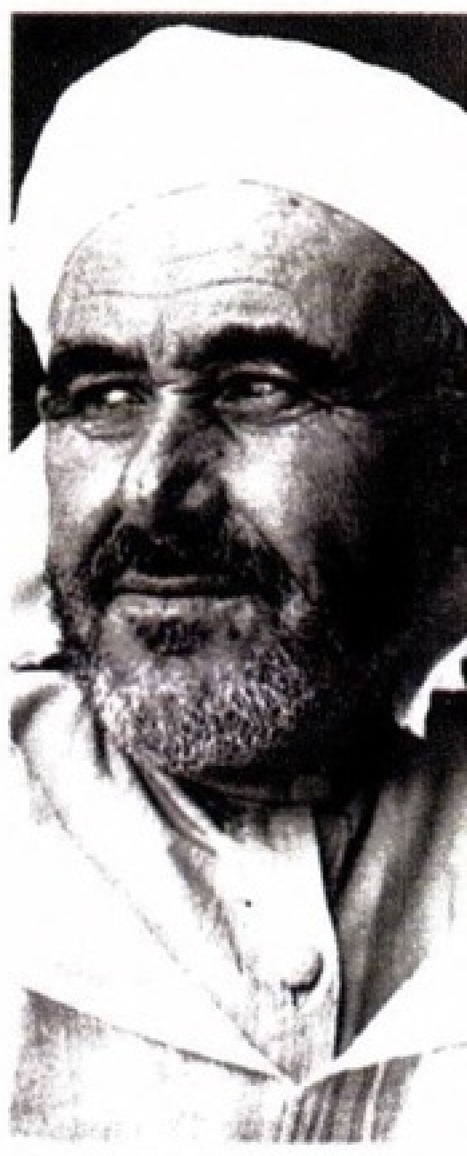
CHINA Chiang Kaishek's forces take Shanghai; 600 alleged Communists are executed.
DUTCH EAST INDIES Ahmed Sukarno founds the Indonesian Nationalist Party.
AUSTRIA Communist-led riots are so popular that government troops refuse to put them down. Provincial troops do the repression job instead.
BOLIVIA 80,000 indigenous people stage a revolt against the Government.
NICARAGUA Rebels under Augusto Sandino attack government troops at Las Flores.
USSR Trotsky and Zinoviev lead a peaceful demonstration in Moscow on the tenth anniversary of the Revolution. Stalin expels them both from the Communist Party.

1928

USSR Trotsky is arrested along with 30 other dissidents and sent to Alma-Ata in Kazakhstan. Stalin launches his first Five-Year Plan which aims to collectivize agriculture.
NICARAGUA Sandino's rebels clash with US marines, killing five. The US sends 1,000 more marines. The rebels capture US-owned mines.
BRITAIN gives the vote to all women over 21.
TURKEY Kemal switches to the Roman alphabet as part of his Westernization programme.
CHINA Chiang Kaishek's forces finally take Beijing and he becomes President. He invites US car magnate Henry Ford to become an economic adviser.
MEXICO President Obregon is elected – then assassinated as he celebrates. Catholics protesting the Government's anti-clericalism take to arms.
EGYPT King Fuad takes dictatorial powers, banning elections and a free press.
ALBANIA President Ahmed Zog crowns himself King Zog I.
WORLD France, Germany, the US, the USSR and Britain are among countries to sign a Pact for the Renunciation of War.

1929

YUGOSLAVIA King Alexander assumes full dictatorial powers.
ITALY's election has no opposition parties or public meetings. Mussolini claims a 99-per-cent vote.
USSR Trotsky is exiled and 1,600 of his followers are sent to Siberia. France, Germany and Britain refuse him asylum.
INDIA Nehru calls for rebellion if India does not achieve autonomy soon. Gandhi is elected president of the Congress Party but refuses.
GERMANY Communists fight police in Berlin for three days.
MEXICO The Government signs a pact with the Church promising less anti-clerical policies.
WORLD The Geneva Convention is signed by 48 countries, regulating the treatment of prisoners of war. French Prime Minister Aristide Briand proposes a United States of Europe.
PALESTINE British troops separate Jewish and Arab antagonists.
UNITED STATES The Wall Street stock exchange crashes, tumbling the world into economic slump. The economist JM Keynes denounces timid government responses to the crisis.

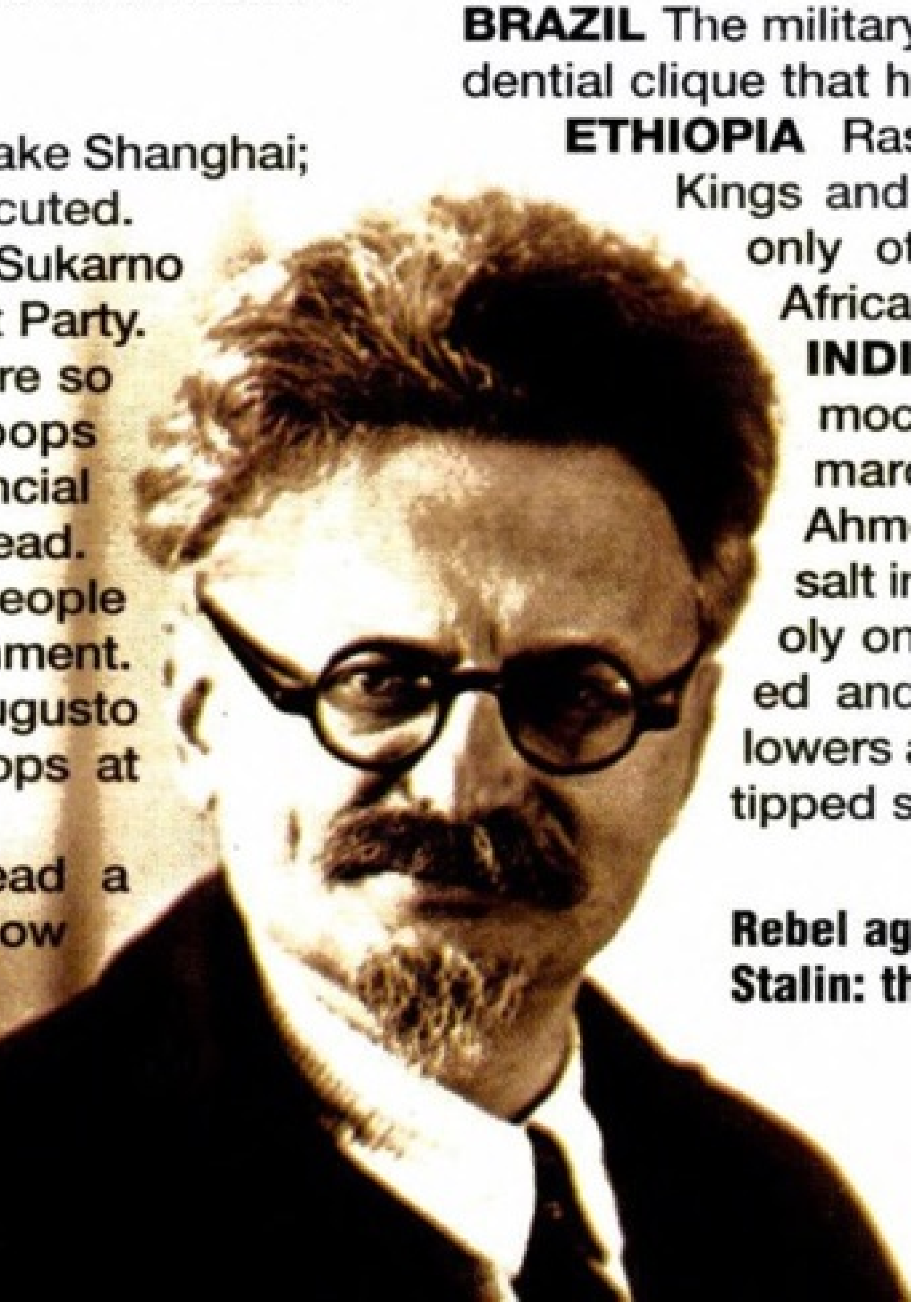


Thorn in the side of France and Spain: Moroccan rebel leader Abdel Krim.

CAMERA PRESS

1930

WORLD British leader Ramsay MacDonald proposes the scrapping of all battleships to control the arms race. Unemployment soars across the industrial world.
SPAIN The dictator General Primo de Rivera resigns. Republicans stage an abortive coup.
USSR Stalin dispatches tens of thousands of agents to the countryside to kill *kulaks* (rich peasants) and encourage others into collectives.
CHINA Warlord Yen Hsichan forms a rebel government in Beijing.
GERMANY Hitler's Nazis show stunning electoral gains, making them the largest party after the Socialists.
BRAZIL The military seize power, ousting a presidential clique that has ruled for 40 years.
ETHIOPIA Ras Tafari is crowned King of Kings and Emperor Haile Selassie. The only other black head of state in Africa is in Liberia.
INDIA peacefully celebrates a mock-Independence Day. Gandhi marches 500 kilometres from Ahmedabad to the sea to make salt in protest at the British monopoly on salt production. He is arrested and imprisoned while 2,500 followers are beaten by police with iron-tipped staves.



Rebel against the Tsar, then against Stalin: the original Trotskyite, Leon.

1931

INDIA Britain agrees to scrap the salt tax in return for an end to civil disobedience. Gandhi travels to London to negotiate directly over India's future; the talks fail.

NICARAGUA Following a major earthquake in the capital, martial law is declared; Sandino's rebels capture Puerto Cabezas and the US promises to withdraw its marines.

SPAIN Republicans win a landslide victory in elections; King Alfonso abdicates. Alcara Zamora becomes President.

CHINA The British arrest in Shanghai the leader of the Indochinese Communist Party, Ho Chi Minh.

1932

INDIA The Congress resumes civil disobedience; Gandhi and Vallabhai Patel are arrested. Gandhi begins a hunger strike in support of voting rights for 'Untouchables'; they are granted.

CHINA Japan invades and captures Shanghai. The last emperor Pu Yi is installed as head of Japan's puppet state in Manchuria.

GERMANY Hitler loses the presidential election to Hindenburg but gains 37 per cent of the vote. The Nazis become the largest party in the general election but Hitler is denied the chancellorship. In a second election they lose ground as industrialists withdraw cash support. Communists and Nazis fight in the Reichstag.

FRANCE President Paul Doumer is assassinated by a White Russian émigré.

SIAM A military coup turns an absolute monarchy into a constitutional one.

PORTUGAL Antonio de Oliveira Salazar becomes fascist leader.

UNITED STATES Unemployment tops 11 million. Franklin D Roosevelt becomes President, promising a New Deal which will combat the Depression with public spending.

USSR Stalin sends Zinoviev, Kamenev and 20 other potential threats to his leadership to Siberia.

BRITAIN Unemployed workers stage hunger marches from the North. There are pitched battles with police.

1933

PHILIPPINES The US Congress votes to offer independence in ten years. President Hoover tries to veto it but fails.

SPAIN Anarchists, Anarcho-syndicalists and Communists stage a revolt in three provinces and aim to disrupt railway and telephone services. There is a general strike. Communists attempt to seize power following right-wing electoral gains.

GERMANY Hitler is appointed Chancellor by President von Hindenburg after weeks of street battles between Nazis and Communists threaten civil war. He declares war on parliamentary democracy and within a month the Reichstag is burned down. Hitler forces Hindenburg to sign a decree suspending freedom of speech and assembly. The Nazis arrest leftists and open the first concentration camp at Dachau. Hitler orders a boycott of Jewish business; Nazi thugs roam the streets beating up Jews; Jews start to flee into exile. Hitler bans trade unions, opposition parties, mixed Aryan-Jewish marriages and burns books by 'un-German' authors. People with disabilities are to be sterilized. The outlawed Socialist Party claims 45,000 prisoners are being held in 65 camps. Germany quits the League of Nations.

TURKEY Mustafa Kemal bans Arabic prayers and the word 'Allah'.

AUSTRIA Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss bans all Nazi organizations and assumes dictatorial powers.

UNITED STATES Roosevelt's New Deal sees much more power vested in the Federal Government and a million jobs created through public works in a concerted attempt to beat the Depression. The unemployed are offered food and clothing. He also ends the Prohibition of alcohol.

BRITAIN 30,000 Jews demonstrate against the German Nazis; Oswald Mosley's Fascists start peddling anti-semitic propaganda.

CUBA Mass protest against President Machado's dictatorship leads to a coup led by Sergeant Fulgencio Batista.

INDIA Gandhi fasts to the point of death in protest at being refused the right to work with Untouchables while in prison.

UPI / CORBIS – BETTMANN

Nicaraguan revolutionary leader Augusto Cesare Sandino, murdered in 1936.

1934

AUSTRIA An uprising by socialists is crushed. Dollfuss sends those opposed to his Heimwehr fascists to concentration camps. He is murdered by Austrian Nazis.

NICARAGUA Rebel leader Augusto Cesare Sandino is invited to the palace of the President, with whom he has co-operated for a year since US marines withdrew. He is murdered by National Guards led by General Anastasio Somoza.

LATVIA Karlis Ulmanis is now dictator.

BULGARIA King Boris helps the Fascists seize power.

GERMANY Hitler has Ernst Roehm and other leaders of the Nazi Brownshirts murdered in the Night of the Long Knives, removing a possible internal threat. Former Chancellor Kurt von Schleicher is among many non-Nazis also murdered. President Hindenburg dies; Hitler abolishes the post, declaring himself 'Fuehrer'.

YUGOSLAVIA King Alexander is murdered in France by a Croatian nationalist.

SPAIN Socialist and Syndicalist trade unions call a nationwide strike against the right-wing government. Catalonia tries to declare itself independent but the bid is crushed.

CHINA Led by Mao Zedong, 100,000 Communists begin the Long March from Kiangsi, where they are surrounded by 700,000 Nationalist troops, to Yenan, 10,000 kilometres north.

TURKEY Mustafa Kemal rules that all Turks must choose a surname; his is to be Ataturk ('Father of Turks'). Women are given the vote.

USSR Stalin launches another purge after his aide Kirov is murdered.

1935

AFRICA A wave of strikes breaks out against colonial labour conditions, starting in the Central African copper belt.

LIBYA is born out of the merger of the three Italian colonies of Cyrenaica, Tripoli and Fezzan.

ERITREA and **SOMALILAND** are merged to become Italian East Africa.

ETHIOPIA **Italy** invades. The League of Nations imposes sanctions.

BOLIVIA and **PARAGUAY** finally end the three-year Chaco War over disputed territory, which has cost 100,000 lives.

UNITED STATES A vast dust storm sweeps across the Mid-West, caused by excessive farming of prairie land.

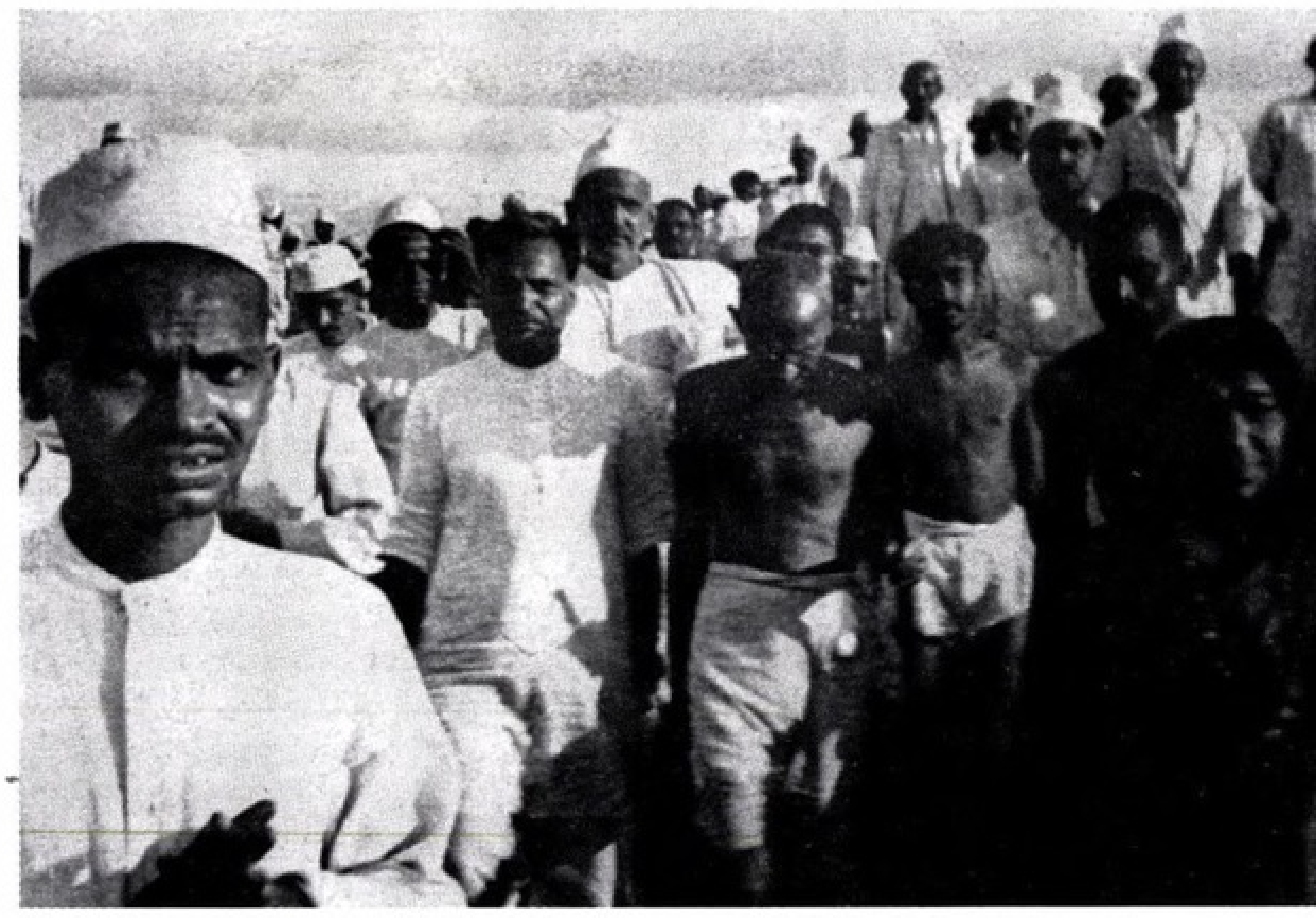
CHINA Japanese troops march into Beijing and set up a puppet state in the north. Mao's Communists reach the end of their arduous one-year Long March – 70,000 out of 100,000 died en route.

GERMANY introduces conscription and starts to rebuild its navy. The Saarland votes for reunion with Germany.

1936

INDIA Nehru becomes Congress leader in the wake of the party's national success in elections allowed by a new constitution.

SPAIN The Left comes to power under Premier Manuel Azana and 30,000 political prisoners are freed. General Francisco Franco leads a right-wing rebellion using foreign legionaries from Spanish Morocco. Azana's Popular Front appeals to France for help; Franco appeals to Italy and Germany. Spain is soon split in half by bitter civil war. Anarchists are included in the Government, which moves from Madrid to Barcelona. 5,000 German troops join Franco's forces.



HULTON-DEUTSCH / CORBIS

Gandhi leads the Salt March to the sea in 1930, one of the century's most creative acts of non-violent resistance.

PARAGUAY The military seizes power and sets up the first Fascist regime in the Americas.

GERMANY marches into the Rhineland, defying the Versailles Treaty. Britain and France do nothing. Germany signs alliances with Italy and Japan.

ETHIOPIA Italy takes control, having used mustard gas on both civilians and troops.

BOLIVIA A coup removes President Sorzano.

FRANCE Following crippling strikes, the Socialist Popular Front wins the election and grants workers a 12-per-cent pay rise, a 40-hour working week and two weeks' paid holiday. Union leader Leon Jouhaux says: 'For the first time in history an entire class has won improved conditions.'

USSR Zinoviev, Kamenev and 14 others are executed after a show trial.

AUSTRIA Schusnigg becomes dictator.

BRITAIN Unemployed people begin the Jarrow March to London. 100,000 people build barricades to stop Mosley's Fascists marching through London's East End.

1937

SPAIN Britain and the US ban their citizens from fighting in Spain under threat of prison but idealists flock from all over the world to join the International Brigade aiding the Republican cause: an estimated 59,000, almost half of them French. Franco's Nationalists have just as large a foreign contingent, but all but 5,000 are Italian and German soldiers. Hitler's bombers attack the Basque city of Guernica.

UNITED STATES/CANADA Workers' protest tactic of occupying car plants on both sides of the border culminates in the occupation of General Motors' plant in Flint, which leads to official trade-union recognition in the car industry.

CHINA The Japanese attack Beijing and Shanghai. Chiang Kaishek reluctantly concludes a military alliance with Mao Zedong's Communists.

PALESTINE Britain proposes a one-third/two-thirds partition between Jews and Arabs and curbs Jewish immigration.

GERMANY A Christian pacifist family in Silesia has their children taken away by a court for refusing to teach them Nazi ideology.

1938

SPAIN Franco starts bombing the Republican capital, Barcelona. His troops win a series of crushing victories in Catalonia.

AUSTRIA Schusnigg resigns and pro-Nazi Seyss-Inquart takes over. He immediately invites German troops to invade. Germany's *Anschluss* or annexation of Austria is announced. Jews are at once excluded from public life and many are deported to concentration camps.

USSR The latest in a series of show trials ends in the execution of 18, including Nikolai Bukharin.

ITALY The vigour and efficiency of Mussolini's

CAMERA PRESS

'A guerrilla must live among the people as a fish swims in water.' Chinese Communist revolutionary Mao Zedong consults with peasants in the liberated zones.

Italy is praised by British leader Neville Chamberlain following a pact. Italy officially embraces anti-semitism and expels Jews who arrived after 1918.

CHINA Japan bombs Canton into submission.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Germans in Sudetenland call for union with Germany. The British and French agree to hand it over – Czech leaders are not party to the talks. British leader Chamberlain declares he has negotiated 'Peace for our time'.

GERMANY On *Kristallnacht* ('Crystal Night') Jews all over the country are attacked, hundreds of synagogues torched and thousands of shops looted.

PALESTINE Britain drops its plans for partition and offers Jews a home in East Africa.

1939

SPAIN Franco takes Barcelona and Madrid, winning the Civil War. He sets up a Fascist state.

JAPAN Fascist Baron Hiranuma takes over as Prime Minister.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Germany marches in to take over all but Ruthenia, which Hungary occupies.

BRITAIN and **FRANCE** guarantee to defend **Poland** and prepare for war. Britain's city children are evacuated to the countryside.

ALBANIA **Italy** invades, seizing the capital, Tirana.

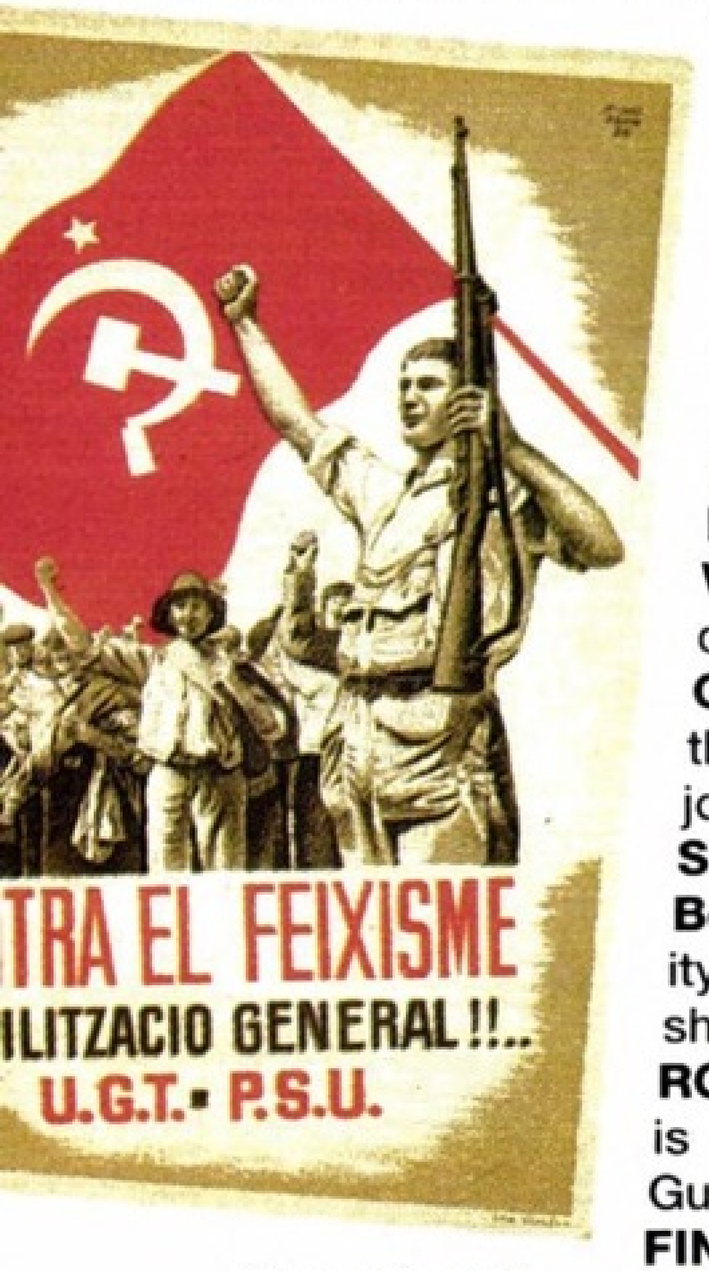
USSR Stalin shocks the world by signing a Non-Aggression Pact with Hitler.

POLAND is invaded by Germany and the USSR and partitioned between the two. Mass deportations of Jews begin.

WORLD **France** and **Britain** declare war. **Australia**, **Canada**, **New Zealand** and the rest of the Commonwealth join them. The **US**, **USSR**, **Sweden**, **Norway** and **Belgium** declare their neutrality. 158,000 British troops are shipped to France.

ROMANIA Premier Calinescu is murdered by Fascist Iron Guards.

FINLAND is invaded by the USSR.


TRA EL FEIXISME
ILITZACIO GENERAL!!..
U.G.T.• P.S.U.

MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY / HUMPHREY SPENDER

'General mobilization against Fascism' in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39.

1940

FINLAND resists the Soviet invasion, killing hundreds of thousands of Russians before finally being overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers.

PALESTINE Britain authorizes the transfer of land from Arabs to Jews.

TIBET A five-year-old becomes Dalai Lama.

POLAND Nazi Heinrich Himmler constructs the Auschwitz concentration camp.

GERMANY invades and captures Norway, Holland, Belgium and half of France in a devastating *blitzkrieg*.

ITALY Now confident of Germany's success, Italy enters the War. It invades British Somaliland, Egypt and Greece.

USSR invades Lithuania; the other Baltic states 'opt' to join the USSR.

BRITAIN vows to fight on, backed by its Commonwealth allies. It sinks the French fleet off Algeria to prevent the ships falling into German hands; 1,000 French sailors are killed. Its planes inflict huge losses on German fighters aiming to soften up Britain for invasion. Germany's strategy switches to the bombing of cities, including the Blitz of London.

FRANCE Marshal Pétain establishes a Fascist state in Vichy, replacing 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' with 'Work, Family and Fatherland'. Charles de Gaulle leads Free France in exile – and is supported by the French colonies of Chad, Cameroon, Equatorial Africa and Tahiti. He launches a vain attack on Senegal.

HUNGARY and **SLOVAKIA** join the German side.

POLAND The Nazis confine 350,000 Jews to a ghetto in Warsaw.

MEXICO The exiled Leon Trotsky is murdered with an ice-pick by one of Stalin's agents.

1941

NORTH AFRICA British and Australian troops take the Italian stronghold of Tobruk, advance into Eritrea and take 100,000 prisoners. They capture Italian Somaliland and hit Libya. Germany sends Rommel's Afrika Korps to rescue the Italians.

BULGARIA is occupied by Germany.

ETHIOPIA Haile Selassie's troops recapture Burye from the Italians. South African troops capture Addis Ababa and Haile Selassie re-enters after five years' exile.

YUGOSLAVIA Regent Prince Paul signs a pact with the Axis (pro-German) powers but within two days an anti-German coup sends him into exile; 17-year-old King Peter takes over. The Germans invade and push on into Greece.

GREECE falls to the Germans. Allied troops and equipment are saved by the delaying resistance of Australian, New Zealander and Greek soldiers. Crete also falls, with heavy Allied losses.

GERMANY Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess mysteriously flies to Scotland and surrenders. Germany invades the **USSR** with Finnish and Romanian support and soon captures Kiev and Orel. The German Army threatens Moscow but is beaten back by the harsh Russian winter.

FRANCE Pétain arrests 12,000 Jews. De Gaulle creates a provisional government in exile.

SYRIA Australian and Indian troops capture Damascus from the Vichy French.

INDOCHINA Japanese troops take over Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh launches the Vietminh independence movement.

DENMARK joins the Axis powers.

JAPAN bombs the US fleet in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, then invades Hong Kong, Malaya and the Philippines.

UNITED STATES enters the War.

1942

LATIN AMERICA 21 countries from the Americas sever their ties with the Axis powers. **Brazil** and **Mexico** declare war on Germany.

JAPAN attacks the Solomon Islands and New Guinea, threatening Australia. It captures Singapore, Java, Burma and the Philippines.

AUSTRALIA Japanese ships shell Sydney.

NORTH AFRICA Rommel's Afrika Korps take Tobruk, capturing 25,000 Allied soldiers, and advance on Egypt. They are halted by Allied victory at El Alamein. US troops pour into Morocco and Algeria.

GERMANY The Nazis agree on 'The Final Solution' – the systematic extermination in death camps of Europe's 11 million Jewish people. They begin deporting Jews to Auschwitz.

POLAND The Warsaw Ghetto, where Jews have been confined, is attacked and thousands of its occupants killed or sent to concentration camps.

UNITED STATES 100,000 Japanese Americans are rounded up, to be held in camps for the duration of the War. US planes bomb Tokyo.

INDIA Congress launches the 'Quit India' campaign. Britain is more shaken by the defection of 55,000 Indian soldiers to a left-wing faction led by Subhas Chandra Bose, who seeks support from Japan. Britain promises India self-government – but only after the War. Gandhi and Congress reject this and say civil disobedience will continue.

USSR Germany launches a summer offensive but is ultimately held off at Stalingrad.

WEST AFRICA Previously pro-Vichy, French West Africa joins the Allies.

1943

USSR German forces at Stalingrad surrender. The Red Army advances, liberating captured cities.

PACIFIC A major US offensive begins at Guadalcanal in the Solomons.

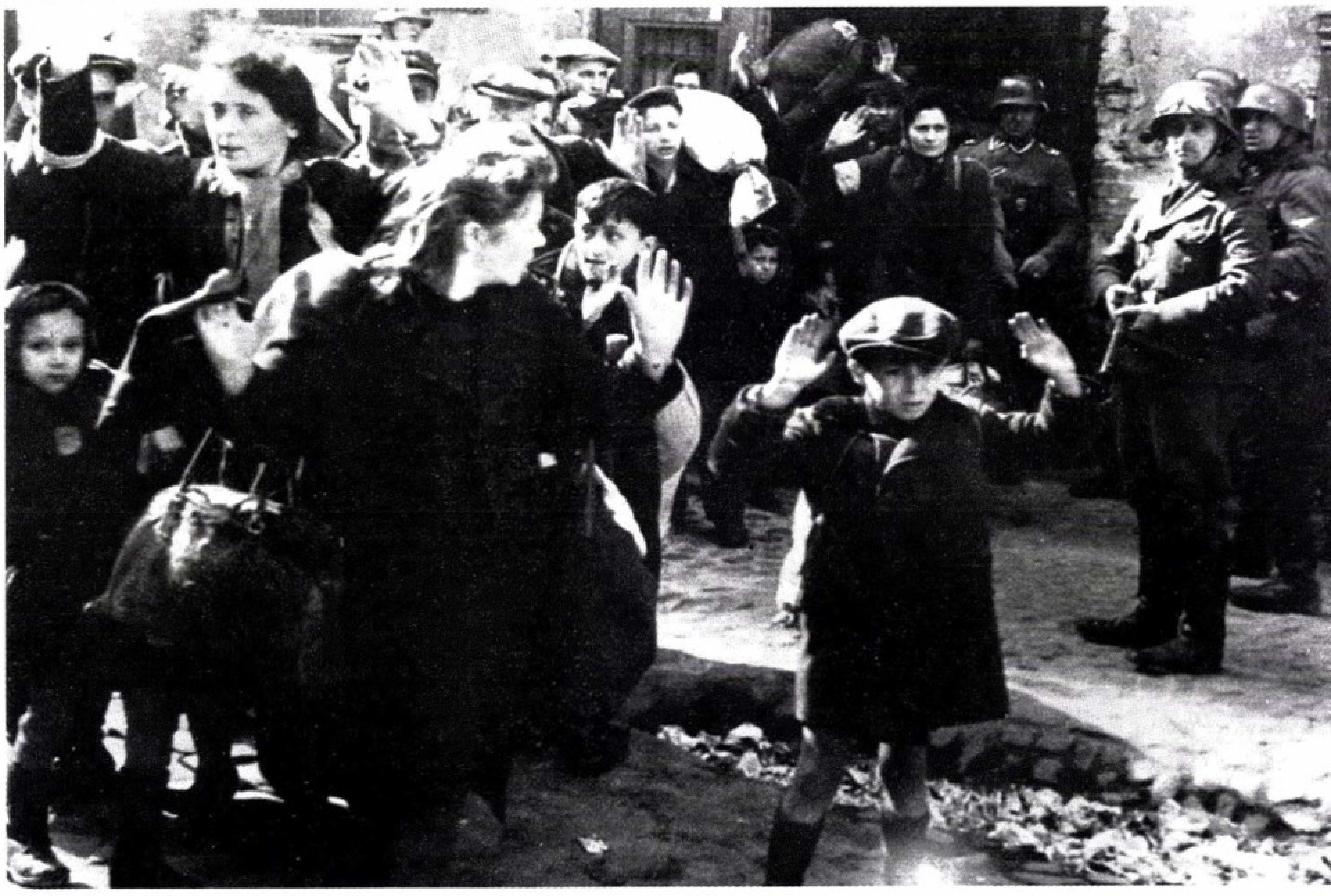
POLAND The remaining Jewish inhabitants of the Warsaw Ghetto fight back bravely against death squada but are ultimately massacred.

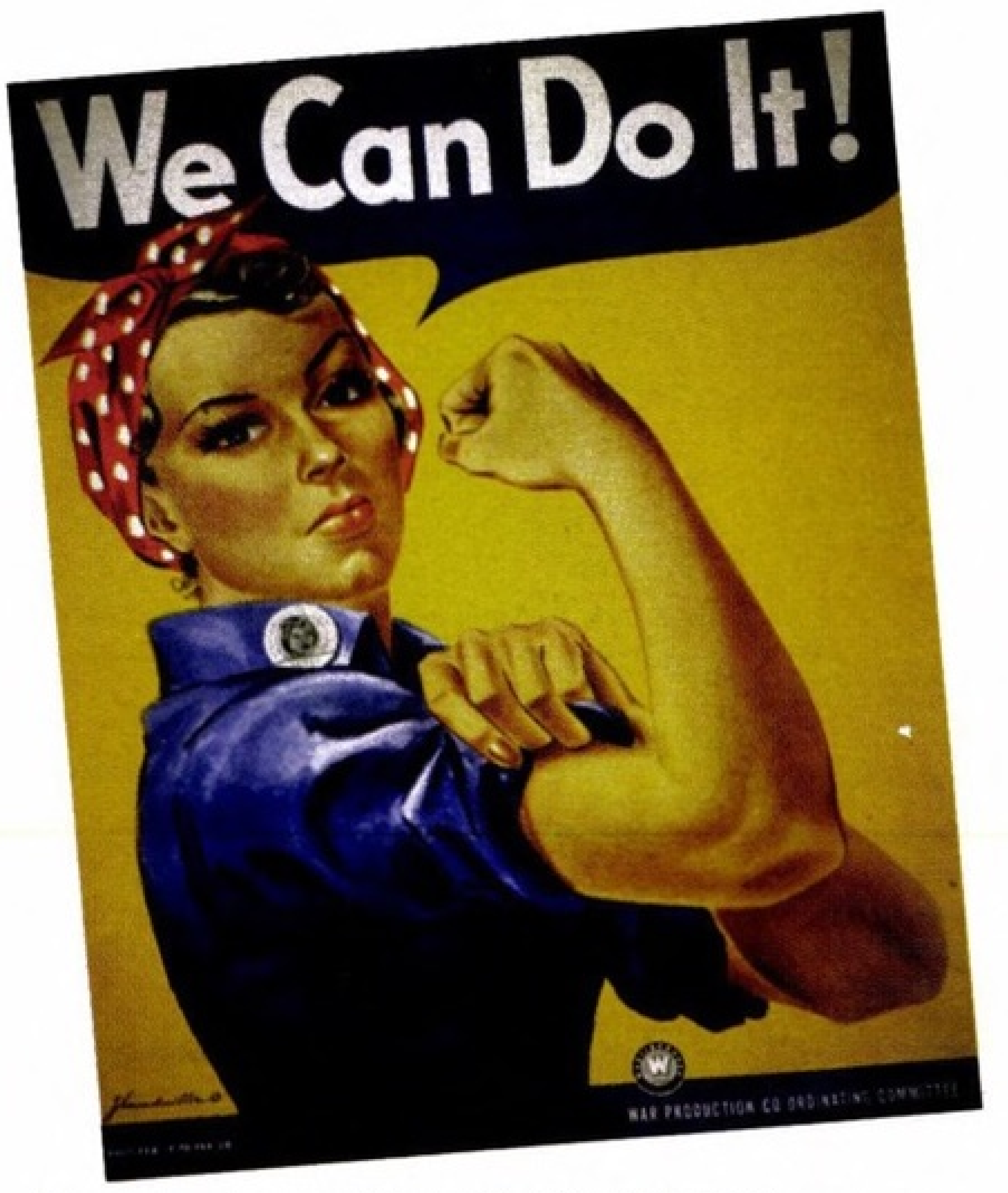
ITALY US troops invade Sicily. Mussolini is deposed and anti-Fascist Marshal Badoglio takes over. Italy surrenders but German troops occupy Rome and start to loot art treasures. Thousands of Italian soldiers are taken to Germany as slave labour. Italy declares war on Germany. King Victor Emmanuel is dethroned.

WORLD Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill meet in

NATIONAL ARCHIVES / CORBIS

Heart of the Holocaust : Nazis round up Jewish people in the Warsaw Ghetto for transportation to the death camp at Auschwitz in 1942. The little boy in the foreground was the only survivor of this group.





The power is ours! As in the First World War, women are urged to take on industrial and agricultural work.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES / CORBIS

Tehran to discuss the shape of the post-War world.
YUGOSLAVIA Partisan leader Josip Broz Tito sets up a provisional government.

1944

INDIA Famine in Bengal kills three million. The British direct grain elsewhere to help the war effort on Churchill's orders.
USSR The Red Army lifts the two-year siege of Leningrad and liberates the Crimea. It captures the Baltic States and advances into Poland.
HUNGARY and **SLOVAKIA** are occupied by German troops. The deportation of Jews begins.
WORLD The Bretton Woods conference opens in New Hampshire to plan the financial architecture of the post-War world. Plans for the United Nations are also laid.
ITALY Rome is liberated by the Allies.
FRANCE Allied troops invade Normandy, recapture Paris and push on towards Germany. De Gaulle's provisional government is recognized.
PALESTINE The Zionist Stern Gang assassinates Britain's Middle East Minister in Cairo.
VIETNAM The Vietnamese People's Army is formed under Vo Nguyen Giap.
GREECE Britain invades. The leftist National Liberation Front tries to seize power but Britain intervenes on the right-wing side.
GUATEMALA A popular rising, the 'October Revolution', overthrows General Castañeda, latest in a line of military leaders.

HULTON-DEUTSCH / CORBIS

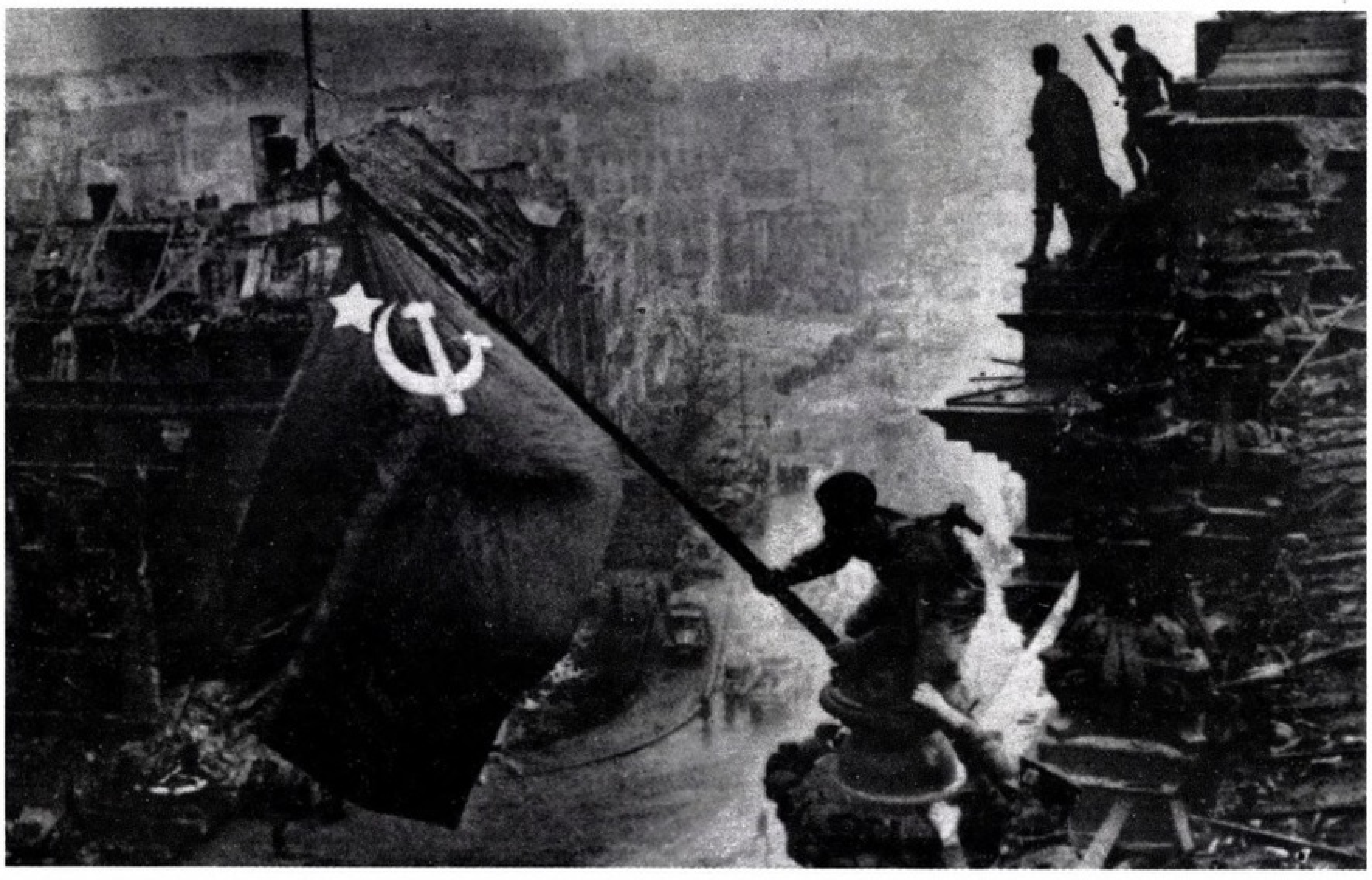
1945

GERMANY Allied bombers reduce Dresden to ruins, killing 130,000 civilians. Allied troops capture Berlin; Hitler and Himmler commit suicide. German troops surrender. Nazis led by Goering and Hess go on trial for war crimes at Nuremberg.
POLAND The Red Army discovers Auschwitz.
PHILIPPINES is liberated by US troops.
WORLD At Yalta, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill meet again to carve up the post-War world. At Potsdam, after victory in Europe, Truman takes the place of the dead Roosevelt and Attlee replaces Churchill. The War has cost 55 million lives, including 20 million Soviet citizens, 15 million Chinese and 6 million Jews. The United Nations is established; so too are the IMF and the World Bank.
AFRICA A Pan-African Congress organized by Kwame Nkrumah is held in Manchester, England.
BALKANS Watched by the USSR, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia all have Communist victories in elections.
INDOCHINA Cambodia and Vietnam both declare their independence.
ITALY Mussolini is shot dead by partisans.
BURMA The British take Rangoon.
JAPAN The US drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan surrenders.
CHINA Mao Zedong and Chiang Kaishek meet to try to avert civil war in the wake of Japan's defeat.
AUSTRALIA Socialist and Communist ideas gain wide influence: Communist Party membership reaches an all-time high of 23,000 and home-grown socialist theories start to emerge.
BRITAIN Labour wins its first absolute electoral majority. It will institute extensive social welfare and a free national health service.
INDONESIA Sukarno's Nationalists declare war on the Dutch colonialists; their rebel republic is recognized by the departing Japanese.
PALESTINE Arabs in Jerusalem begin a general strike and riot in Cairo in protest at Zionism.
SYRIA and **LEBANON** win independence from France.

1946

WORLD The United Nations General Assembly meets for the first time in London.
VIETNAM Ho Chi Minh wins elections in the north.
GOLD COAST becomes the first British colony with a majority of Africans in parliament.
CHINA Nationalist-Communist civil war erupts.
EGYPT Britain withdraws all its troops.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA Communists win elections.
PALESTINE Both Jews and Arabs are outraged at an Anglo-American plan recommending continued British control. Zionist guerrillas blow up the British Army HQ in Jerusalem. Britain refuses to allow any more Jewish refugees from Europe to enter and stops ships docking. The US protests.
ITALY votes to abolish its monarchy.
ARGENTINA General Juan Peron becomes President.
INDIA Congress rejects Britain's latest plan for independence. The Muslim League prepares for civil war in pursuit of a separate state of Pakistan. Thousands die in Hindu-Muslim conflict. Nehru is appointed head of a provisional government.
ALGERIA Ferhat Abbas proposes an independent republic.

The Beast is dead: Soviet troops raise their flag on the Reichstag amid the ruins of Hitler's Berlin in 1945.



1947

INDIA and **PAKISTAN** win their independence from Britain. An estimated 8.5 million refugees cross the border in both directions in 'the largest migration in history'. Around 400,000 die in inter-communal violence. Gandhi fasts for Hindu-Muslim unity. The Maharajah of Kashmir opts to join India rather than Pakistan; Muslim guerrillas resist the decision.
UNITED STATES Truman calls for a crusade against Communism. The House Committee on Un-American Activities starts seeking Reds under the bed. The Marshall Plan will offer aid to help the recovery of non-Communist Europe.
MOROCCO Rebel leader Abdel Krim, who has escaped from Reunion after 11 years, demands an end to French rule.
PALESTINE Jewish terrorism aimed at the British mounts. The number of Jewish immigrants refused entry and held in Cyprus camps reaches 20,000. Britain agrees to give up its mandate. The UN votes for partition between Jews and Arabs.
INDONESIA The Dutch crack down on nationalists. The UN arranges its first ceasefire.

India's first independent leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, out campaigning in 1947.

BURMA U Aung San, hero of the independence movement, is assassinated just before Britain agrees to let the colony go.

1948

INDIA Gandhi is shot dead by a Hindu extremist. The Army compels the Muslim ruler of Hyderabad to accede to India. The war with Pakistan over Kashmir continues.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA Communists seize power.
CEYLON gains its independence from Britain.
PALESTINE descends fast into civil war. Eight hours before the British mandate is due to expire, Jews declare the new state of **ISRAEL**. It is immediately recognized by the US.
KOREA The Soviet-backed North under Kim Il Sung and the US-backed South under Syngman Rhee each claim jurisdiction over all Korea.
SOUTH AFRICA Afrikaner Nationalists win the election and institutionalize the *apartheid* system.
GERMANY The USSR blockades West Berlin, which is an island in Soviet-controlled territory. The US and British airlift food supplies.
YUGOSLAVIA Tito quarrels with Stalin, who urges 'healthy elements' to overthrow him and launches an economic blockade.
MALAYA Communist rebels are brutally repressed by the British Army.
CHINA Communist forces capture Manchuria.
CAMBODIA gains independence from France.
INDONESIA Dutch troops arrest key independence leaders and control all of Java.
WORLD The UN adopts the Declaration of Human Rights.

1949

CHINA Mao Zedong's Communist forces triumph over Chiang Kaishek's Nationalists. Mao proclaims the People's Republic of China. Chiang's Nationalists take refuge on the island of Taiwan.
INDONESIA The Dutch withdraw after UN demands. Sukarno becomes President of the Republic of Indonesia after 20 years of struggle.
ISRAEL's first election results in a Labour government. A truce is signed with Egypt and Transjordan, which is soon renamed Jordan.
WORLD The Western powers form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Pope Pius XII excommunicates all who choose to be Communist. The UN grants independence to all Italy's ex-colonies.

GERMANY The Soviet Union lifts the Berlin blockade following negotiations at the UN and agrees to the creation of a Federal Republic of Germany. The eastern or Soviet-controlled zone will become the German Democratic Republic. 125,000 people leave East Germany for the West.

LAOS gains its independence from France.

USSR explodes its first atomic bomb.

GREECE The Communist rebels lay down arms, ending the civil war.

1950

VIETNAM Ho Chi Minh's Hanoi-based regime is recognized by the USSR and China while Bao Dai's Saigon-based regime is approved by the US, Britain and France. Ho's Vietminh continue their battle against the French colonial army, pushing it out of the border zone with China.

CHINA and the **USSR** conclude a formal alliance. China is denied its seat at the UN.

AUSTRALIA PM Menzies bans the Communist Party and seizes its assets.

INDIA and **PAKISTAN** pledge to protect minority rights.

JORDAN annexes the West Bank, which had been seen as a Palestinian homeland.

SOUTH AFRICA Black protest at the Government's apartheid policies increases. A day of mourning is held in Cape Town against racist legislation.

BECHUANALAND The British Government refuses lawyer Seretse Khama permission to become chief of the Bamangato tribe because he has married a white London typist.

KOREA The North invades the South and captures the capital, Seoul. The UN Security Council calls for member nations to help the South resist the invasion. The US sends troops immediately; Britain and Australia soon follow. UN forces retake Seoul and push on into the North, soon capturing the capital Pyongyang. Chinese troops pour over the border to push them back again.

TIBET China invades and takes control.

1951

KOREA Chinese and American forces cross and recross the border between North and South at the 38th Parallel. General MacArthur wants to attack China but is fired by President Truman. A truce holds most of the year during peace talks.

SOUTH AFRICA removes the vote from people of mixed race.

IRAN nationalizes the British-run oil industry.

EGYPT rescinds its alliance with Britain. Anti-British riots erupt. Britain offers a defence pact but is rejected. British troops seize the Canal zone. Egyptian guerrillas fight back with police help.

1952

EGYPT 17 Britons are murdered in Cairo riots; King Farouk sets a curfew. General Muhammad Neguib and Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser seize power, putting Farouk's baby son on the throne.

CUBA General Fulgencio Batista stages a coup.

GOLD COAST Kwame Nkrumah wins the British colony's first election while in prison for sedition, becoming the first black African prime minister.

VIETNAM France launches a huge offensive against the Vietminh.

SOUTH AFRICA The African National Congress mounts a defiance campaign against racist laws.

IRAN The Shah gives anti-British premier Muhammad Mussadiq emergency powers.

KENYA The anti-colonial battle is joined as black people take the Mau Mau oath to drive out whites. The European colonial élite forms a Home Guard. Britain sends troops. The leader of the Kenya African Union, Jomo Kenyatta, is arrested as 2,500 Mau Mau suspects are rounded up.

The Mahatma, or 'Great Soul'. Mohandas K Gandhi's peaceful resistance is ended by his murder in 1948.

UPI / CORBIS – BETTMANN

HULTON-DEUTSCH / CORBIS

ERITREA becomes part of Ethiopia as British troops finally leave.

UNITED STATES destroys Eniwetok Atoll in a test of the H-Bomb. Senator Joe McCarthy's anti-Communist witch-hunt escalates.

1953

KENYA The Mau Mau uprising mushrooms. White settlers call for repression; the Governor imposes the death penalty for taking the Mau Mau oath. 1,000 Kikuyu are rounded up near Nairobi. Jomo Kenyatta and five colleagues are given seven years' hard labour. 99 are killed in a British attack on rebel strongholds.

SOUTHERN AFRICA Britain proposes a new federal state comprising Northern and Southern Rhodesia plus Nyasaland. African critics of the scheme are dismissed as 'unrepresentative'.

USSR Stalin dies; Georgi Malenkov succeeds him.

WORLD Dag Hammarskjold replaces Trygve Lie as Secretary-General of the UN.

LAOS The capital Pakseng falls to Ho's Vietminh.

KOREA An armistice is signed at the end of a war in which two million died.

EGYPT Neguib and Nasser proclaim a republic.

AUSTRALIA Britain explodes two nuclear bombs in the South Australian desert.

EAST GERMANY A two-day anti-Soviet uprising is crushed by Soviet tanks and troops.

CUBA Rebels against Batista's dictatorship attack army barracks but all those not killed are arrested, including their leader, Fidel Castro.

MOROCCO The French depose the Sultan.

IRAN A military coup, sponsored by the British and US secret services, ousts leftist/nationalist premier Muhammad Mussadiq.

BRITISH GUIANA The left-wing People's Progressive Party rebels against colonialism; Britain sends troops, suspending the constitution.

JORDAN Israeli troops attack three villages, killing 56 people.

1954

SUDAN Pro-Egyptian Ismail Azhari is elected Prime Minister.

KENYA Mau Mau leaders Generals China, Katanga and Tanganyika are captured. The British try and fail to engineer a mass surrender; instead they round up 65,000 Africans for questioning.

BRITISH GUIANA People's Progressive Party leader Cheddi Jagan is jailed for six months.

BRITISH HONDURAS The anti-British People's United Party wins the election.

EGYPT Nasser becomes leader after a power struggle. He achieves his first goal: Britain agrees to withdraw troops from Suez within two years. He cracks down on the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood after it tries to assassinate him.

VIETNAM Vo Nguyen Giap's Vietminh forces capture the French stronghold of Dien Bien Phu after a 55-day siege, humiliating the colonial power. The French are forced to sue for peace and back the partition of Vietnam into North and South. The Vietminh take Hanoi.

GUATEMALA The elected government of President Jacobo Arbenz, which had been pursuing land reform by expropriating unused land owned by the US United Fruit Company, is deposed by a CIA-backed invasion. A military regime is reimposed after just ten years of democracy.

Rosa Parks, whose bravery sparks US civil-rights resistance in 1955.

UPI / CORBIS – BETTMANN

UNITED STATES The Supreme Court rules that racially segregated schools are illegal. Southern whites refuse to comply.

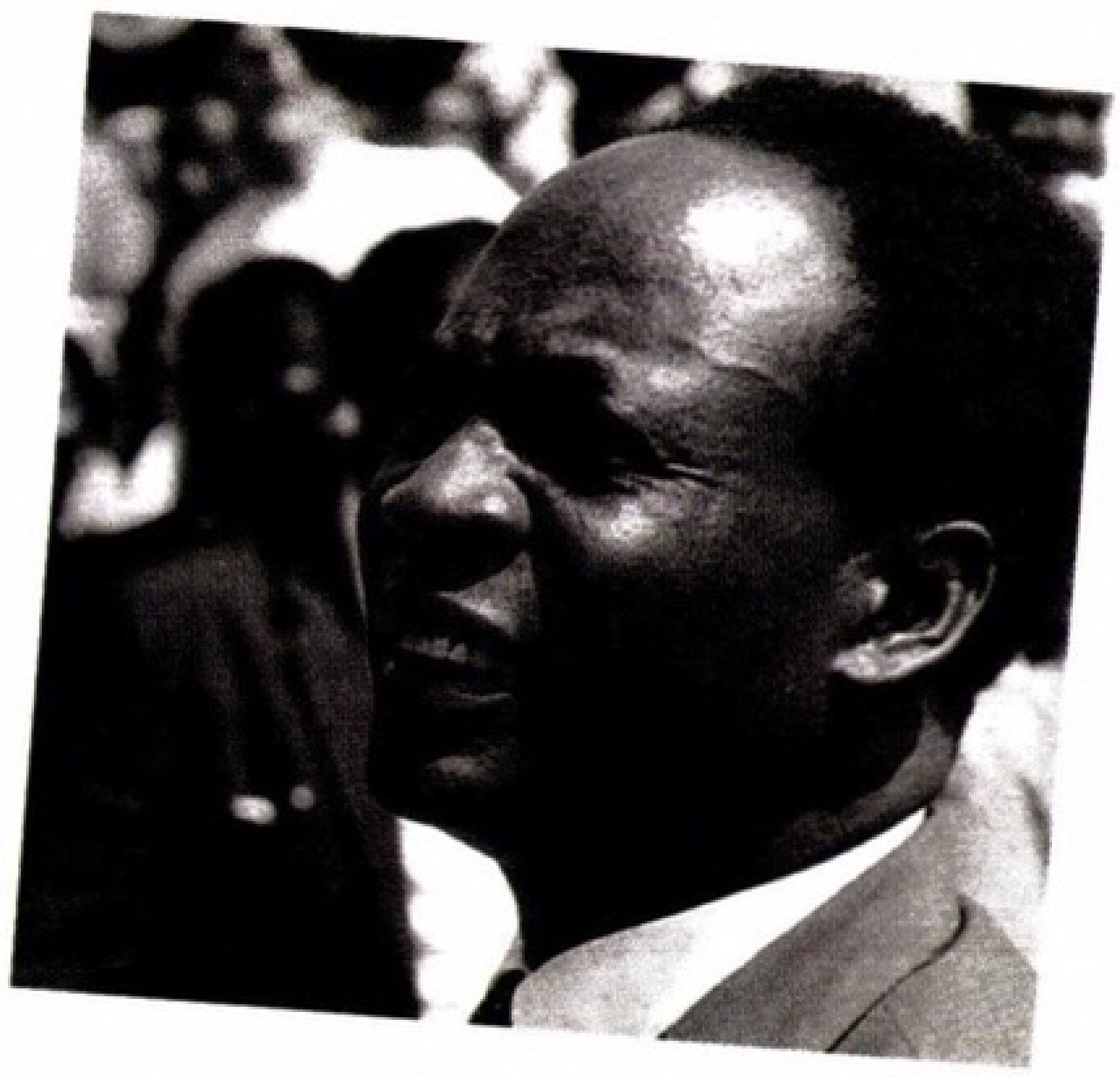
ARGENTINA Juan Peron is re-elected; he immediately arrests opposition leaders for 'disrespect'.

ALGERIA Nationalists led by Ahmed Ben Bella begin violent resistance to French rule.

1955

WORLD The first international conference of independent Asian and African countries takes place in Bandung, Indonesia. It brings the Non-Aligned Movement into being, calling for neutrality of developing countries in the Cold War.

USSR After a two-year power struggle, Nikita Khrushchev takes supreme power. He makes up with Yugoslav leader Tito and establishes the Warsaw Pact – a military alliance of Communist states.



Kwame Nkrumah, who in 1956 persuades Britain to give Ghana its freedom from colonial rule.

CAMERA PRESS

SOUTH AFRICA Police destroy the black township of Sophiatown, bulldozing the homes of 60,000 people in a newly designated white residential area. The African National Congress (ANC) holds a 'Congress of the People' in Kliptown and adopts a Freedom Charter. The ANC is banned from calling strikes or holding public meetings.

VIETNAM Civil war breaks out between rival factions in Saigon. The Emperor Bao Dai remains in his Cannes villa while premier Ngo Dinh Diem cracks down. Diem declares South Vietnam a republic with himself as President.

AUSTRIA and **WEST GERMANY** have their full autonomy restored, ten years after the War's end.

TUNISIA is granted autonomy by France; nationalist leader Habib Bourguiba returns from exile.

WORLD Prominent scientists sign a declaration urging nations to renounce war. They include Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell.

ARGENTINA Peron is deposed by a popular military coup and exiled to Paraguay; people disliked his anti-Church, pro-US business stance.

MOROCCO and **ALGERIA** have nationalist riots.

CYPRUS Britain declares a state of emergency in the face of Greek agitation.

SUDAN wins independence from Britain/ Egypt.

UNITED STATES Black people boycott segregated buses in Alabama, inspired by Rosa Parks' refusal to move from a whites-only seat.

1956

GUINEA/ANGOLA In these Portuguese colonies Amilcar Cabral founds the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde and (with Agostinho Neto) the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

CYPRUS Greek demands for self-determination meet Turkish opposition. The British deport Greek leader Archbishop Makarios.

TUNISIA is granted full independence by France; Bourguiba becomes President.

ALGERIA France sends huge numbers of troops as violent nationalist protest increases.

USSR Khrushchev reveals the full horror of Stalin's despotism in a scathing speech.

UNITED STATES Martin Luther King is convicted of organizing the bus boycott in Alabama. He vows to continue the fight for civil rights with 'passive resistance and the weapon of love'.

YEMEN Anti-British strikes in Aden lead to clashes between British and Yemeni troops.

GHANA Kwame Nkrumah seeks independence for Gold Coast, to be renamed Ghana. Britain agrees.

EGYPT British troops leave the Suez Canal zone on time but Nasser then takes over the Canal, nationalizing the Anglo-French company that runs it. He says he will use revenues from the Canal to fund the Aswan High Dam, industrialize and compete with the West. He rejects a plan for international control of the Canal.

Nasser' s anti-Western stand makes him a pan-Arabist icon.

CAMERA PRESS

ISRAEL uses the Suez Crisis to invade the Egyptian Gaza Strip and Sinai peninsula.

NICARAGUA The dictator Anastasio Somoza is shot dead in Panama; his son Luis takes over.

HUNGARY launches a revolt against Soviet rule. Rebels free Cardinal Mindszenty after eight years in prison. The USSR sends in the tanks and a new hardline leader, Janos Kadar, is imposed. About 100,000 refugees pour over the border with Austria. Communists all over the world tear up their Party cards in protest.

POLAND Thousands demonstrate in Warsaw against Soviet domination, inspired by Hungary.

BRITAIN and **FRANCE** seize back the Canal Zone, outraging international opinion. They are forced by the US to hand over to a UN force.

CHINA Mao liberalizes his regime, saying: 'Let 100 flowers blossom and 100 schools argue.'

BECHUANALAND Seretse Khama returns after his six-year exile.

1957

EGYPT nationalizes all British and French banks.

YEMEN Troops from Yemen invade the British colony in Aden but are driven out.

ISRAEL The UN demands Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Aqaba. Eventually it complies.

CUBA Fidel Castro continues to direct his revolutionary guerrillas from a jungle base despite claims he had been killed.

'A bas la France!' Algerian Muslims take to the streets.

CAMERA PRESS / DALMAS

EUROPE The Treaty of Rome establishes the six-nation Common Market.

GHANA becomes independent. Nkrumah tells the crowd to rejoice that they have shed 'the chains of imperialism'.

JORDAN King Hussein foils a Nasser-inspired coup, forms a pro-Western government and declares martial law.

OMAN British troops suppress an uprising against the Sultan.

TUNISIA Bourguiba deposes the Bey and makes himself President.

MALAYA gains its independence from Britain after 170 years. Abdul Rahman is its first premier.

UNITED STATES 1,000 Federal troopers enforce desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas, shepherding nine black children into a white school.

HAITI François Duvalier – Papa Doc – wins the election.

AUSTRALIA The last of seven British nuclear bombs is exploded at Maralinga. Hundreds of Aborigines have died as a result of the tests.

INDONESIA Sukarno expels all Dutch nationals in protest at Dutch rule in West Papua.

1958

CARIBBEAN The British West Indies Federation is formed.

VENEZUELA A coup removes dictator Marcos Perez Jimenez.

EGYPT and **SYRIA** unite to form the United Arab Republic, with Nasser as President. The idea of Arab unity, rejecting Western imperialist borders, is coming to flood.

BRITAIN The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) is launched. Race riots erupt in Notting Hill.

ALGERIA explodes as 40,000 French settlers or *pieds noirs* seize government buildings to support French rule.

FRANCE is thrown into crisis by Algeria and General de Gaulle is offered leadership with a free hand. In a referendum the constitution is changed to give him all but absolute power as President. De Gaulle offers all African colonies either independence or autonomy within the French Union. All but one vote in a referendum for autonomy within France.

GUINEA declares its complete independence from France, led by Sekou Toure.

HUNGARY Imre Nagy, prime minister at the time of the 1956 uprising, is executed.

IRAQ King Feisal, the Crown Prince and the Prime Minister are murdered in a pan-Arabist coup.

JORDAN, which had concluded a union with Iraq, calls in British troops to deter invasion.

LEBANON US troops invited in, also for fear of Iraq.

TIBET Resistance to Chinese occupation becomes intense: the death toll is estimated at 300 a day. The guerrillas are particularly strong in the mountain regions of eastern Tibet.

HAITI Papa Doc Duvalier crushes an attempted coup and will now rule by decree.

BURMA General Ne Win takes over in a coup.

AFRICA The All-Africa Peoples Conference is held in Ghana, inspiring the anti-colonial movement across the continent.

SOUTH AFRICA The Pan-Africanist Congress splits from the ANC, seeking a black rather than multi-racial route to liberation.

1959

CUBA Fidel Castro's rebels topple the dictator Batista. Castro visits Washington and assures the US he is not a Communist. At home he promotes radical land reform. Che Guevara becomes head of the Cuban national bank.

INDIA Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi is elected President of the Congress Party.

CHINA Mao Zedong launches the Great Leap Forward, accelerating industrialization and rural collectivization.

SOUTHERN AFRICA Anti-British riots break out in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. Britain flies in troops and dissolves African nationalist parties, arresting Hastings Banda and other leaders.

TIBET The rebellion is brutally suppressed. The Dalai Lama flees into exile in India.

CYPRUS A peace deal establishes a republic with a Greek President and a Turkish Vice-President. Makarios returns home to become President.

LAOS The Pathet Lao Communist rebels launch a major offensive.

ALGERIA De Gaulle offers a referendum – but only once four years of peace are complete.

BELGIAN CONGO Nationalist Patrice Lumumba is arrested for inspiring an anti-white riot.

CEYLON Socialist Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike is assassinated.

1960

SOUTH AFRICA The new Progressive Party calls for an end to apartheid. On the first day of a campaign of civil disobedience against laws requiring blacks to carry a pass, police open fire on a crowd at Sharpeville township, leaving 56 dead. All black political organizations are outlawed. A state of emergency is declared as 30,000 blacks demand their leaders' release.

AFRICA British Prime Minister Macmillan talks in Cape Town of a decolonizing 'wind of change' blowing through the continent. **French Congo**, **Chad**, **Central African Republic**, **Togo** and **Madagascar** gain their independence from France.

SOMALIA The British and former Italian Somaliland join to form a new independent state.

NIGERIA gains independence from Britain as Africa's most populous state.

ALGERIA De Gaulle dismisses a hardline general and provokes a full-scale rebellion by settlers who set up barricades. His self-determination policy continues to please Arabs but outrage French settlers.

CUBA Castro jails 104 opponents after a mass trial and nationalizes private business.

UNITED STATES 1,000 black students protest peacefully against segregation in Alabama.

SOUTH KOREA President Synghman Rhee resigns after a week of street protest by students at his rigged election victory.

CONGO Patrice Lumumba's rebellion swiftly wins independence from Belgium. But copper-rich Katanga province tries to secede, led by Moise Tshombe. UN troops replace Belgians. Lumumba declares martial law then invades Katanga. Colonel Joseph Mobutu seizes power with US and Belgian support; Lumumba is arrested.

CEYLON Sirimavo Bandaranaike becomes the world's first woman prime minister.

1961

ALGERIA In a referendum on home rule, 15 million French and Algerians vote 'yes' and 5 million 'no'. Rebel French Army officers seize Algiers. A nationwide strike in France supports de Gaulle. The rebellion falls apart.

CONGO Lumumba is handed over to Katangan forces and murdered while in custody. UN forces crush the Katangan rebels. UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold dies in a plane crash while flying to meet Tshombe.

UNITED STATES One of President Kennedy's earliest acts is to set up the Peace Corps of volunteers for work in developing countries.

ANGOLA A nationalist uprising sees 500 white colonists killed in five weeks and leads the UN to urge Portugal to reform.

CUBA is invaded by US-sponsored armed exiles at the Bay of Pigs. The invasion fails. Castro embraces Communism and abolishes elections.

NYASALAND Nationalist leader Hastings Banda wins an election in the colony.

EAST GERMANY builds the Berlin Wall to stop the flood of refugees into the West.

KENYA Jomo Kenyatta is released after nine years of British custody.

SYRIA declares its independence from the United Arab Republic and deports 27,000 Egyptians.

GHANA Nkrumah arrests 50 opposition leaders.

TANGANYIKA becomes independent from Britain. Julius Nyerere is President.

VIETNAM The US announces the number of its military 'advisers' in the South will rise to 16,000.

COMPLETE
INDEPENDENCE
1961

Tanganyika's Julius Nyerere, latest beneficiary of the 'Wind of Change' sweeping away colonialism in Africa.

CAMERA PRESS / SAM TURNER

Cuban guerrilla leader Fidel Castro in his mountain base, ready to challenge the dictator Batista, 1958.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS / CORBIS

CHINA Mao's Great Leap Forward has been a disaster: around 30 million have died from famine.

1962

ALGERIA The OAS terrorist group of settlers and ex-officers extends its bombing campaign to Paris and murders dozens of Muslims in Algiers, trying to provoke full-scale war. De Gaulle orders an all-out assault on the French rebels. OAS leader Raoul Salan is captured and imprisoned. A referendum votes almost unanimously for independence and it is immediately granted.

RWANDA and **BURUNDI** become independent of UN trusteeship.

PERU President Prado is deposed in a coup.

INDONESIA The Dutch hand over West Papua.

UGANDA becomes independent of Britain. So does **TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.**

UNITED STATES Whites storm the University of Mississippi after black student James Meredith is escorted in by Federal marshals. Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy are imprisoned three times in the year for anti-segregation protests.

WORLD holds its breath as Kennedy and Khrushchev dice with nuclear war over Soviet missiles in Cuba. The missiles are removed and the US promises not to invade Cuba.

SOUTH AFRICA ANC leader Nelson Mandela is jailed for five years.

MOZAMBIQUE The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) is launched in Tanganyika.

1963

PERU 800 Communists are arrested by the junta.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA Black nationalist Joshua Nkomo is sentenced to six months' hard labour.

AFRICA Leaders from 30 African countries form the Organization of African Unity.

SOUTH VIETNAM Buddhist monk Quang Duc burns himself to death in protest at the anti-Buddhist policies of Catholic President Diem. Diem is killed in a military coup.

WORLD The US, USSR and Britain sign a treaty banning atmospheric or underwater nuclear tests.

UNITED STATES 200,000 demonstrate in Washington for black civil rights. Martin Luther King stresses non-violent struggle and his dream of equality. President Kennedy is shot dead.

MALAYSIA comes into being as a federation including Singapore and part of Borneo; martial law is declared after days of riots.

HONDURAS A coup deposes President Morales.

KENYA gains its independence from Britain under Jomo Kenyatta.

1964

WORLD Developing countries band together at the UN Conference on Trade and Development to form an organization that will defend their interests; it becomes the Group of 77 or G77.

TANZANIA is formed when nationalists in the newly independent island of Zanzibar overthrow the Sultan then opt to unite with Tanganyika.

BRAZIL A military coup topples the three-year-old left-wing government. Paulo Freire, who uses literacy programmes to 'conscientize' the poor, is imprisoned, then exiled – but his ideas inspire the Third World.

KENYA Kenyatta declares a one-party state.

RWANDA Hutus massacre thousands of Tutsis.

CYPRUS descends into civil war between Turks and Greeks. UN peacekeeping troops arrive.

PALESTINE The Palestine Liberation Organization is formed.

UNITED STATES Three civil-rights workers are murdered by police in Mississippi. The Civil Rights Act is passed, outlawing racial discrimination.

SOUTH AFRICA Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are given life imprisonment for treason.

MALAWI and **ZAMBIA** gain their independence from Britain. They were formerly called Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia and are led by Hastings Banda and Kenneth Kaunda respectively.

VIETNAM US troops are committed in earnest to war against the North.

1965

MOZAMBIQUE Eduardo Mondlane, leader of Frelimo, is assassinated by Portuguese colonial agents. The liberation movement now controls a fifth of the territory.

INDONESIA Army chief General Suharto seizes power under the pretext of stemming 'communist penetration'. 700,000 leftists and community activists are murdered in the resultant repression and 200,000 other activists imprisoned.

GAMBIA gains independence from Britain.

UNITED STATES Black leader Malcolm X is shot dead. 25,000 civil-rights marchers present a petition to racist Governor George Wallace. Race riots flare up in the Los Angeles district of Watts. Martin Luther King calls for an end to war in Vietnam.

VIETNAM US planes bomb the North. President Johnson sends the marines into Danang. The Vietcong explode a car bomb outside the US Embassy in Saigon. General Nguyen Van Thieu becomes President of the South.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC Leaders of a military coup have the help of US marines to crack down on the Left.

ALGERIA Colonel Houari Boumedienne seizes power from President Ben Bella.

SINGAPORE secedes from Malaysia, claiming Malay discrimination against Chinese.

INDIA and **PAKISTAN** go to war again over Kashmir. Pakistan bombs Delhi and Bombay while Indian troops attack West Pakistan.

RHODESIA makes a unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in order to retain white power. Britain imposes economic sanctions.

CONGO Army chief General Mobutu seizes power again and is now here to stay.

1966

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC Colonel Jean Bedel Bokassa seizes power.

NIGERIA 50 politicians and army officers are killed in a coup.

UGANDA PM Milton Obote seizes total power.

GHANA Kwame Nkrumah is overthrown.

AUSTRALIA sends 4,500 troops to join the Americans in Vietnam.

UNITED STATES Race riots erupt in Chicago, New York and Cleveland. Edward Brooke becomes the first-ever black senator.

CHINA Mao launches the Cultural Revolution, spearheaded by hundreds of thousands of teenage Red Guards who are to seek out 'revisionism' and 'bourgeois reactionary thinking'.

BOTSWANA gains independence from Britain. Formerly known as Bechuanaland, it is led by Seretse Khama.

LESOTHO is also free; it was formerly called Basutoland.

WORLD Indira Gandhi, Nasser and Tito convene a conference of 'non-aligned' nations in Delhi.

1967

GREECE Right-wing army officers stage a coup. A counter-coup by King Constantine fails and he is exiled, marking the end of the monarchy.

NIGERIA Ibo leader Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu proclaims the independence of the eastern region as the Republic of Biafra. Federal troops attack Biafra and take the capital, Enugu.

CHINA explodes its first H-bomb.

ISRAEL wins a crushing victory in the Six Day War against the Arabs. It captures the Sinai peninsula and the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and Jerusalem from Jordan.

EGYPT Nasser resigns, humiliated by defeat.

CANADA De Gaulle visits Montreal and says 'Vive Québec Libre!' (Long Live Free Quebec).

UNITED STATES An anti-Vietnam War rally surrounds the Pentagon.

BOLIVIA Charismatic revolutionary Che Guevara is shot dead, having left Cuba to foment revolution elsewhere.

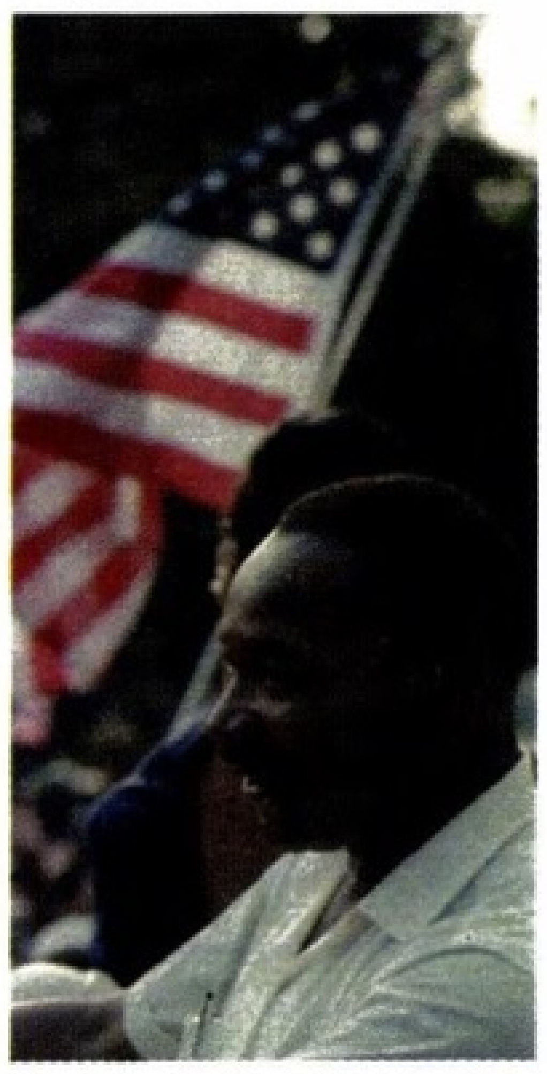
SOUTH YEMEN A new republic is formed as Britain pulls its troops out of Aden after 128 years.

AUSTRALIA After a referendum, Aboriginal people win full citizenship – though not land rights.

VIETNAM US planes bomb the North again and use napalm in the South.

1968

VIETNAM The Vietcong launch the Tet Offensive, capturing Hue and attacking all over the South, successfully undermining US domestic confidence in the war effort. Protest at the US prosecution of the War mounts all over the world. US soldiers massacre innocent villagers at My Lai. President Johnson halts US bombing and starts peace talks in Paris.



Martin Luther King, whose alternative American Dream is cut short in 1968.

FLIP SCHULKE / CORBIS

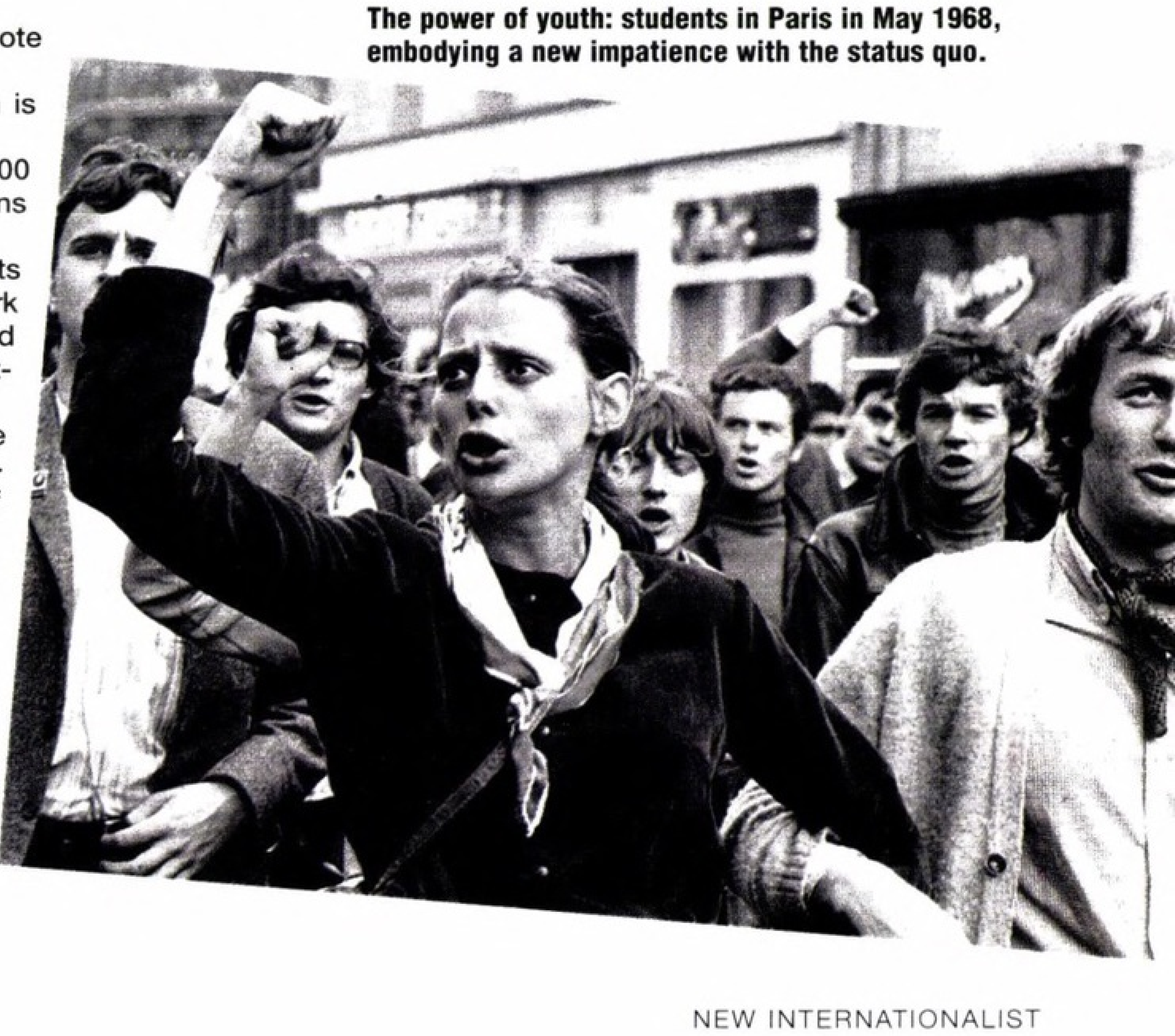
UNITED STATES Martin Luther King is shot dead; black people riot in protest all over the country. Robert Kennedy is assassinated. Peace marchers to the Democratic Party Convention are brutally attacked by Chicago police.

MAURITIUS becomes independent of Britain.

FRANCE 30,000 students take to the streets of Paris setting up barricades and chanting revolutionary slogans. For three weeks in May revolution looks possible, as workers strike in solidarity with the students. But de Gaulle cracks down – and wins a landslide election victory in June.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Liberal Alexander Dubcek

The power of youth: students in Paris in May 1968, embodying a new impatience with the status quo.



CAMERA PRESS / GIANCARLO BOTTI

comes to power. He relaxes censorship, arrests the head of the secret police and talks of giving socialism a human face in the Prague Spring. Soviet tanks crush the experiment but thousands of Czechs continue to protest.

KENYA The announcement that Asians are to lose their trading licences (a move to encourage African business) leads to an exodus, mainly to Britain, which imposes immigration quotas.

JEVAN BERRANGE / CAMERA PRESS

Dead hand: Soviet tanks suppress the brief Prague Spring in 1968.

1969

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Student Jan Palach sets himself on fire in protest at Soviet repression.

PALESTINE Yasser Arafat becomes leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

NIGERIA Four million in Biafra face starvation. The Federal Government will not allow the Red Cross to fly food to them.

NORTHERN IRELAND British troops are deployed after a week of bitter fighting between Unionists and Nationalists. A wall is built between the adjacent Protestant and Catholic areas of West Belfast.

VIETNAM Ho Chi Minh dies.

LIBYA A coup led by Muammar Gadafy ousts King Idris. He nationalizes foreign banks.

KENYA The Kenya People's Union is banned and leader Oginga Odinga jailed.

WORLD The environmental campaigning group Friends of the Earth is launched in San Francisco. It will open offices in Paris and London in 1970.

UNITED STATES Police harassment of gays in New York's Greenwich Village results in gays fighting back. The resultant Stonewall riots become a worldwide symbol of the struggle for gay rights.

1970

NIGERIA Biafra surrenders.

LAOS US planes intensively bomb the Ho Chi Minh trail, the Vietcong supply line through Laos.

CAMBODIA Prince Sihanouk is overthrown by right-wing leaders anxious to counter North Vietnamese troops in the east of the country. President Nixon sends US forces into Cambodia.

UNITED STATES Four students demonstrating against the War are shot dead by National Guards in Ohio. The five-year strike of Hispanic grape-pickers in California, and the boycott of Californian wines by 17 million people leads at last to the recognition of the United Farm Workers of America, led by Cesar Chavez.

LEBANON An Israeli raid kills 30.

ISRAEL A rocket from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine kills eight Jewish children on a school bus near the Lebanese border.

TONGA becomes independent of Britain.

OMAN Sultan Said is deposed by his son Qabus.

NORTHERN IRELAND Conflict between British troops and the IRA mushrooms. Soldiers start using rubber bullets. The non-sectarian Alliance Party and the nationalist Social and Democratic Labour Party are formed.

CHILE Socialist Salvador Allende Gossens is elected President despite the CIA's efforts to undermine him and provoke a right-wing coup.

INDIA The Government abolishes the privileges of 279 maharajahs.

JORDAN Palestinian guerrillas take control of Irbid, the second largest city. Palestinians hijack three airliners and blow them up in the Jordanian desert. Britain, Germany and Switzerland exchange Palestinian prisoners for hostages. Jordan throws out the PLO.

EGYPT Nasser dies, bitterly disappointed by Arab disunity. Anwar Sadat replaces him.

FIJI gains its independence from Britain.

CANADA The Quebec Liberation Front kidnaps and murders provincial minister Pierre Laporte. Trudeau outlaws it, invoking emergency powers.

SYRIA General Hafez al-Assad seizes power.

PAKISTAN Over 150,000 people die in a typhoon and tidal wave. Bengali nationalist Sheikh Mujibur Rahman wins the first free election in the East and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the West.

UPI / CORBIS – BETTMANN

Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers of America, finally recognized in 1970.

1971

UGANDA Army commander and former boxing champion Idi Amin Dada overthrows Obote and bans all political activism.

SWITZERLAND Women are finally given the vote.

LAOS South Vietnamese troops invade Laos to hit the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

ARGENTINA President Levingston is removed in a military coup.

BANGLADESH declares its independence from Pakistan. Troops from West Pakistan respond ruthlessly: civilian areas of Dacca are shelled. Thousands die and almost two million refugees flee into India where they are decimated by a cholera epidemic.

INDIA and **PAKISTAN** go to war; Indian troops invade East Pakistan and help Bengali fighters establish the new state of Bangladesh.

VIETNAM Nixon vows to pull out US troops.

HAITI Papa Doc dies and is replaced as dictator by his son Jean-Claude Duvalier, or 'Baby Doc'.

BAHRAIN gains its independence from Britain.

BOLIVIA Right-wing soldiers seize power.

URUGUAY The left-wing Tupamaros release the British Ambassador who has been hostage for eight months.

UNITED STATES Environmentalists sail a fishing boat to Amchitka Island off Alaska, forcing the US to call off a nuclear test. The direct-action group Greenpeace is born.

ZAIRE is the new name for Mobutu's Congo.

CHINA is finally allowed to take its seat at the UN, which has until now been held by Chiang Kaishek's Taiwan. Mao has his apparent heir Lin Piao killed after a failed coup.

1972

NORTHERN IRELAND British paratroops shoot and kill 13 nationalist marchers for civil rights in Derry on Bloody Sunday. The IRA retaliates by bombing the Paratroop headquarters in Britain, killing seven civilians. Britain imposes direct rule; 100,000 Unionists protest. The Official IRA declares a ceasefire but the Provisional IRA fights on despite secret talks with the Government.

GHANA A military coup deposes Kofi Busia.

VIETNAM Communist troops invade the South. The US launches a massive bombing campaign against Hanoi and Haiphong in the North but the last US combat troops withdraw.

BURUNDI Thousands of Hutus are killed after their uprising against Tutsi rule fails.

UGANDA Idi Amin expels 50,000 Asians who have British passports. They are robbed of all their money as they leave.

CANADA Workers in Quebec strike against repressive labour laws, occupying radio stations.

PALESTINE Arab guerrillas attack Israelis in the Olympic village in Munich.

CHILE President Allende forms a new People's Front Government. His land reform and nationalization of copper are causing consternation in the traditional élite.

HONDURAS A coup ousts President Cruz.

NICARAGUA The capital Managua is destroyed by a massive earthquake; 10,000 die. The dictator Somoza pockets much of the relief aid.

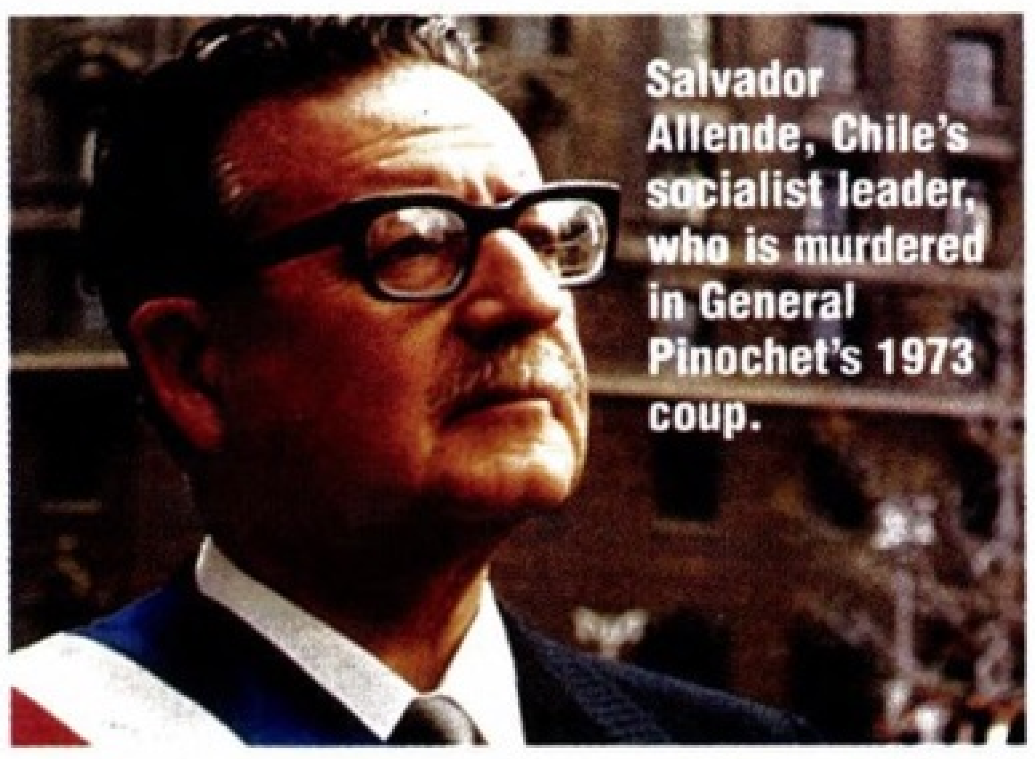
AUSTRALIA Gough Whitlam's Labor Government scraps the White Australia immigration policy.

1973

VIETNAM The North signs a peace deal with the US in Paris. US combat troops withdraw from Vietnam, though military advisers remain.

UNITED STATES Armed supporters of the American Indian Movement (AIM) seize the historic site of Wounded Knee demanding investigation of Native American problems. Two are killed in a gun battle; the siege lasts 70 days but AIM's concerns are ignored. The Watergate crisis explodes around the newly re-elected Nixon.

LEBANON plunges into civil war between the Christian Phalange and Palestinian guerrillas.



Salvador Allende, Chile's socialist leader, who is murdered in General Pinochet's 1973 coup.

CHRISTIAN BELPAERE / CAMERA PRESS

CAMBODIA continues to be bombed by US planes despite the Paris accord. Khmer Rouge guerrillas march on the capital Phnom Penh.

CHILE A US-backed military coup led by General Augusto Pinochet overthrows President Allende, who is killed in a two-hour onslaught on the presidential palace. Massive repression follows as thousands of leftists are rounded up, tortured and murdered.

MOZAMBIQUE The Portuguese colonial army massacres civilians.

ARGENTINA Juan Peron is re-elected President, having just returned from 17 years of exile.

EGYPT and **SYRIA** launch a joint attack on **ISRAEL** on the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur. Israel recaptures the Golan Heights from Syria easily but only wins the war after a massive tank battle with Egypt in the Sinai Desert.

WORLD The mainly Arab oil producers increase the price of oil by 70 per cent, sending massive shock waves through the global economy.

BRITAIN Strikes by miners, rail and power workers plunge the country into crisis; a three-day working week is imposed.

1974

ETHIOPIA A general strike begins against the Emperor Haile Selassie's rule. He is later ousted by a military coup.

UGANDA A coup against Amin fails; he conducts a ruthless purge. 250,000 have already been killed under his regime.

PORTUGAL Radical elements in the military bring down Caetano's right-wing regime, sick of the colonial wars in Africa. The new government will give the colonies their freedom.

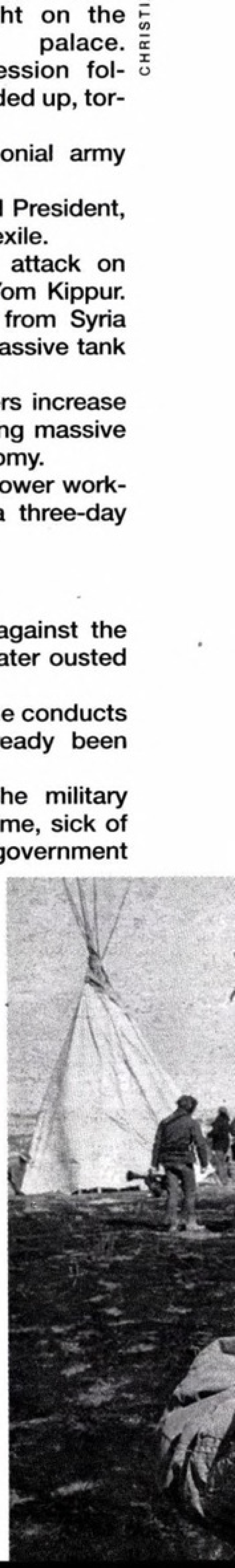
CYPRUS Helped by Turkish troops, Turkish Cypriots seize Greek territory.

NORTHERN IRELAND A try at government by power-sharing between the communities is sabotaged by a Unionist general strike. The IRA blows up pubs in London and Birmingham, killing 18.

INDIA explodes a nuclear device and joins the atomic club. Women in the Himalayan foothills of Uttar Pradesh start the Chipko or tree-hugging movement protesting non-violently against deforestation.

GREECE Seven years of military rule by 'The Colonels' at last come to an end.

UNITED STATES Engulfed by the



United at last: North Vietnamese troops celebrate victory as they enter Saigon on 30 April 1975.

UPI / CORBIS – BETTMANN

Watergate scandal, President Nixon resigns.

MOZAMBIQUE Frelimo takes power in a provisional government, led by Samora Machel.

PALESTINE Yasser Arafat addresses the UN.

1975

CAMBODIA The Khmer Rouge take Phnom Penh. Under Pol Pot's extreme form of Maoism, the inhabitants of the capital are forced into the countryside, intellectuals are murdered and the country is sealed off from the outside world.

CYPRUS Rauf Denktash declares Turkish Cyprus independent.

PORTUGAL Left-wing officers see off a right-wing coup attempt and organize the first free election for 50 years, won by the Socialists.

VIETNAM The North's forces take over the South, reuniting the country at last.

IRAQ launches an assault on Kurdish rebels in the north who have been fighting for 20 years.

LEBANON The civil war between Christian and Palestinian militias spirals.

MOZAMBIQUE gains its independence from Portugal.

BANGLADESH Independence leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is killed in a military coup.

INDIA Indira Gandhi imposes a state of emergency and press censorship following popular resistance to her mass sterilization campaign.

ANGOLA is given independence by Portugal but descends into civil war. The key factions are the Marxist MPLA, which has Cuban support, and UNITA, which is backed by South Africa.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA gains its independence from Australia.

MOROCCO claims the Spanish Sahara. King Hassan organizes the 'Green March' of 350,000 volunteers crossing the border to make his point. Soldiers follow. Half the local Saharawi population is forced to flee into the desert.

SPAIN Franco dies and Fascism with him; King Juan Carlos announces a general amnesty.

AUSTRALIA Left-wing Prime Minister Gough Whitlam is sacked by the British Governor-General, prompting a constitutional crisis.

EAST TIMOR Indonesian troops seize the country before it gains independence from Portugal.

1976

WORLD The Group of 77 developing countries calls for a New International Economic Order which would radically restructure the global economy in the interests of equality and justice.

WESTERN SAHARA Spain formally withdraws, leaving Morocco and Mauritania to carve up the territory. Saharawi liberation front Polisario takes to arms to win self-determination.

ARGENTINA Isabel Peron, President since the death of her husband, is ousted in a military coup.

LEBANON Syrian forces attack Palestinian guerrilla strongholds in the mountains as the civil war intensifies: 40,000 have died already.

SOUTH AFRICA The black township of Soweto erupts into three days of violent protest led by schoolchildren angered by the imposition of the Afrikaans language in schools. Rioting spreads to townships all over the country.

PALESTINE Israeli commandos kill the hijackers of an airliner and free their hostages, in Uganda.

NORTHERN IRELAND Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams start a women's peace movement.

RHODESIA White leader Ian Smith announces a two-year transition period to black majority rule. The transitional government will be half-black.

CHINA Mao Zedong dies. His widow Jiang Qing leads the Gang of Four which wants to pursue radical leftist policies. But they lose out in a power struggle and are jailed. Hua Guofeng takes over.

1977

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Liberals publish Charter 77, campaigning for civil rights.

UGANDA Amin's latest wave of terror includes the murder of the Archbishop of Uganda.

UNITED STATES New President Jimmy Carter cuts aid to human-rights abusers Argentina, Uruguay and Ethiopia.

ISRAEL Right-wing former Zionist terrorist Menachem Begin becomes Prime Minister. He gives the green light to Jewish settlement in the West Bank.

DJIBOUTI gains its independence from France.

SEYCHELLES has a Marxist coup, a year after independence from Britain.

PAKISTAN Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is overthrown by army chief General Zia ul-Haq.

SOUTH AFRICA Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko is killed in police custody.

EGYPT President Sadat visits Israel in search of peace. The outraged Syria, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen sever ties.

CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE Jean-Bedel Bokassa crowns himself Emperor at vast expense.

VIETNAM Over a thousand people a month are fleeing Communist rule in small boats, hoping to be picked up by passing ships.

CHINA Deng Xiaoping is reinstated to high office, having been ousted as a 'capitalist roader' by the Gang of Four.

ETHIOPIA Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam comes to power within the Dergue military regime.

1978

ETHIOPIA and **SOMALIA** are at war in the Ogaden. The former is now backed by the USSR and the latter by the US; before 1974 it was the other way round. Ethiopia drives Somalia out.

RHODESIA Ian Smith's plan for transition to majority rule sees three black ministers sworn in. But guerrilla leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe reject the plan. Guerrilla attacks continue; Rhodesian forces kill 1,500 in a four-day strike at Mugabe's forces inside Mozambique.

AFGHANISTAN A Soviet-backed military coup kills almost all Government leaders.

CANADA renounces nuclear weapons.

ISRAEL and **EGYPT** sign a peace deal. Israel is to return the Sinai peninsula.

IRAN Mass demonstrations against the Shah lead him to impose martial law. Millions take to the streets, many Leftists protesting his neglect of the poor but many others chant for exiled Islamic leader Ayatollah Khomeini.

NICARAGUA The Sandinista guerrillas temporarily seize the National Palace. They are winning their battle against Somoza's National Guard.

UGANDA Amin tries to annex part of Tanzania.

CHINA Deng Xiaoping is confirmed as leader, having outmanoeuvred Hua Guofeng.

1979

IRAN The Shah flees into exile. Protest continues until Ayatollah Khomeini returns and assumes full power, saying democracy has no place. Women fear for their future in a strict Islamic state. The US Embassy is stormed and 100 staff taken hostage.

CAMBODIA falls to the Vietnamese following border clashes. Hanoi installs Heng Samrin as leader. The Vietnamese reveal the full horror of Pol Pot's holocaust, in which 1.5 million people died, and attempt to wipe out the Khmer Rouge army.

ZIMBABWE Whites vote for Ian Smith's new constitution. After elections, Bishop Abel Muzorewa becomes the first black Prime Minister of what will now be called Zimbabwe. Commonwealth countries insist no settlement is possible without Mugabe and Nkomo, who then reach agreement with Smith and Muzorewa in London.

PAKISTAN General Zia introduces Islamic law. He executes former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

CHINA briefly invades **Vietnam** to 'teach it a lesson' over Cambodia. The Democracy Wall protest movement is suppressed.

ST LUCIA gains its independence from Britain.

UGANDA Tanzanian troops help to depose Amin despite Libyan military opposition.

GRENADA The leftist New Jewel Movement under Maurice Bishop seizes power.

BRITAIN Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives win the election.

EL SALVADOR 20,000 mourn those killed when soldiers opened fire on a peaceful demonstration outside the cathedral in the capital, San Salvador.

NICARAGUA The Sandinistas win power. After 46 years of family dictatorship, Somoza is in exile. Somoza's properties are nationalized: they are 40 per cent of the country's economic resources.

MAURITANIA, bruised by guerrilla attacks, gives up its war with Polisario over **Western Sahara**.

NORTHERN IRELAND Britain's Lord Mountbatten is murdered by the IRA.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC Bokassa is overthrown and the Empire abolished.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA Brutal dictator Francisco Nguema is deposed and sentenced to death.

NIGERIA Shehu Shagari becomes President after 13 years of military rule.

ST VINCENT becomes independent of Britain.

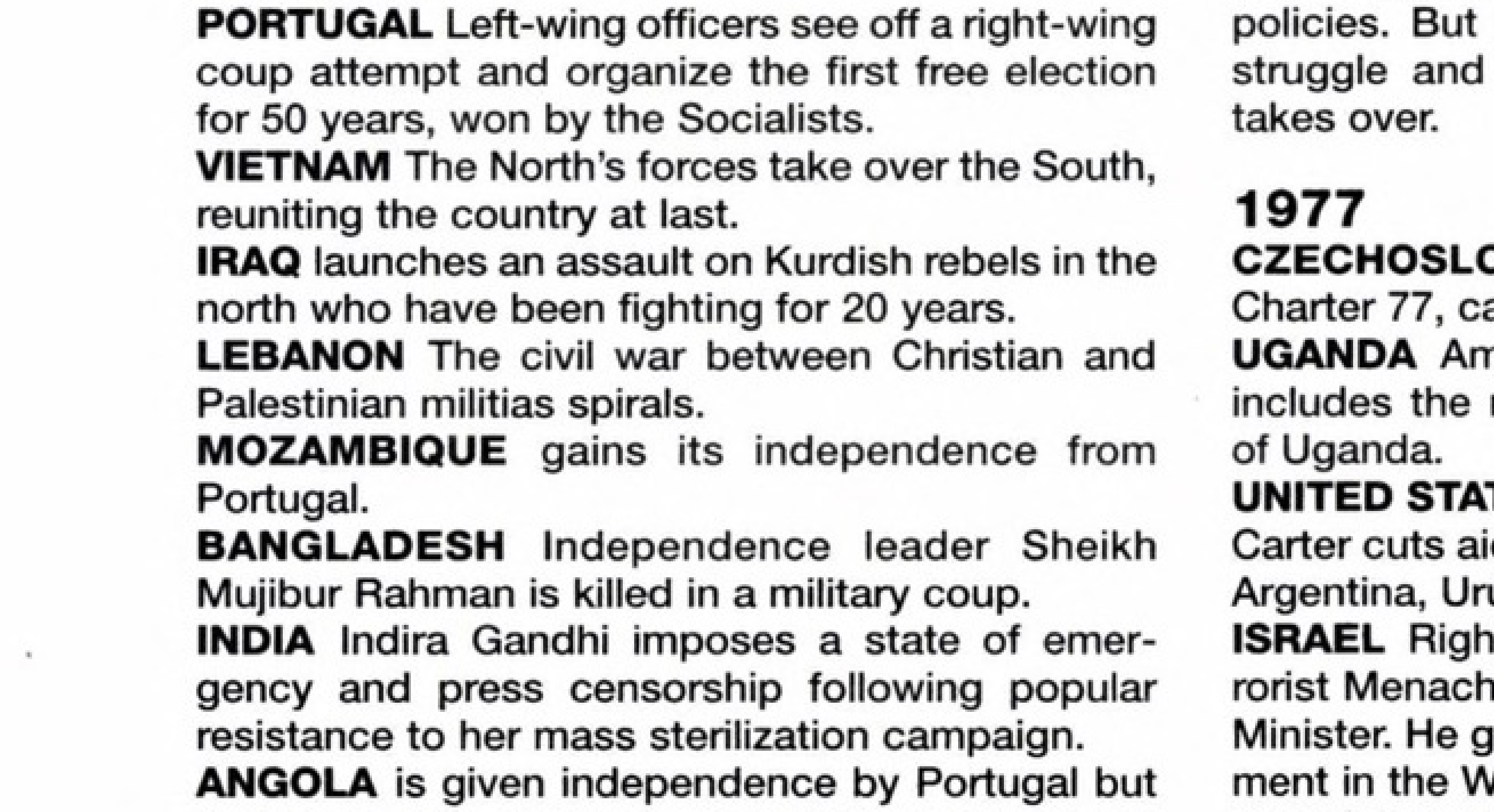
AFGHANISTAN Soviet troops move in and install a new government.

FRANCOISE DE MULDER / CORBIS

RENE
SANDINO AYER, SANDINO HOY, SANDINO SIEMPRE, VILLA ARLEN SIU' PRESENTE EN LA ALFABETIZACION!!

'Sandino yesterday, today and forever.' Sandinista supporters celebrate the 1979 Revolution's push for mass literacy.

OWEN FRANKEN / CORBIS



Bury our hearts at Wounded Knee: the American Indian Movement makes its stand in 1973.

1980

AFGHANISTAN Islamic nations deplore the Soviet invasion and pledge support for the *mujahideen* guerrillas.

ZIMBABWE Robert Mugabe's ZANU party wins the first free election.

EL SALVADOR Outspoken Archbishop Oscar Romero is shot by right-wing paramilitaries; 20 are killed and 200 wounded when bombs go off and snipers fire at a crowd mourning Romero at a funeral mass. Leftist guerrillas step up their anti-Government campaign.

IRAN A US military mission to rescue the hostages ends in disaster when a helicopter crashes in the desert. The **IRAN-IRAQ** War begins, following border conflict.

CANADA Quebec votes against independence.

BRITAIN NATO decides to deploy Cruise missiles at Greenham Common.

UGANDA Ex-leader Milton Obote takes over.

POLAND Shipyard workers in Gdansk strike. The independent trade union Solidarity wins major liberal concessions from the Government.

WORLD Pacifist former Beatle John Lennon is murdered.

1981

UNITED STATES Right-wing former movie star Ronald Reagan becomes President.

IRAN releases the US hostages after 444 days.

EL SALVADOR The junta introduces martial law.

ZIMBABWE Nkomo's ZIPRA guerrillas clash with Mugabe's ZANLA guerrillas. Mugabe sends in white-led air and ground forces; 300 die.

SPAIN An attempted coup by right-wing paramilitaries is foiled by King Juan Carlos.

NORTHERN IRELAND IRA prisoner Bobby Sands goes on hunger strike to demand special status as a prisoner of war. He wins a by-election to become an MP then dies as the Thatcher Government refuses to budge.

BELIZE becomes independent of Britain. It was formerly British Honduras.

BANGLADESH President Ziaur Rahman is assassinated.

BRITAIN Rioting breaks out in nine cities protesting unemployment, poor housing and racism.

IRAN The Khomeini Government executes 149 'leftist militants'.

A women's unit in Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, just before independence.

PETER CHAPPELL / IDAF

EGYPT President Sadat is assassinated by Egyptian soldiers outraged at the peace deal with Israel. Hosni Mubarak takes over, vowing to stick with the peace policy.

WESTERN EUROPE Hundreds of thousands demonstrate against nuclear weapons.

POLAND The Government of General Jaruzelski imposes martial law after months of strikes and protests led by the trade union Solidarity. Troops open fire on demonstrating workers, killing seven.

GHANA Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings seizes power for a second time, having given way to elections after a previous coup in 1979.

1982

ZIMBABWE Mugabe dismisses Nkomo from the Government, claiming he was planning a coup.

BANGLADESH General Ershad seizes power.

ARGENTINA captures the Falkland Islands, which it calls the Malvinas, from Britain.

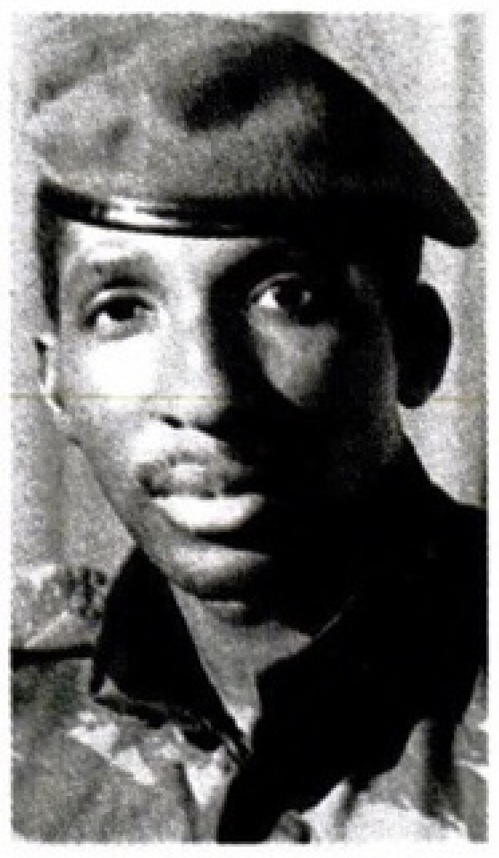
BRITAIN sends a naval task force to the South Atlantic and recaptures the islands. The war costs 225 British lives and 750 Argentinian. Around half the Argentinian deaths occur when the cruiser 'General Belgrano' is sunk outside Britain's declared exclusion zone. The war wins Margaret Thatcher domestic popularity that she uses to push extreme right-wing policies, while Argentine leader General Galtieri is disgraced.

LEBANON Israel invades, claiming Palestinian terrorism as justification, and drives the PLO out of Beirut. Lebanese Christian militia massacre Palestinian refugees in the camps of Sabra and Chatila after Christian President-elect Bashir Gemayel is assassinated. Israel remains in control of the southern third of the country.

POLAND Demonstrations continue against martial law and for the trade union Solidarity, which is banned.

NICARAGUA 2,500 of Somoza's former National Guard invade from Honduras. The 'Contras' are backed by the US. Sandinista survival becomes a *cause célèbre* for the internationalist Left: solidarity brigades building houses and picking coffee echo the internationalism of the Spanish Civil War.

USSR Hardliner Leonid Brezhnev dies.



Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, whose murder in 1987 ends one of the boldest African revolutions.

BENOIT GYSEMBERGH / CAMERA PRESS

1983

AUSTRALIA Mass opposition to the damming of Tasmania's Franklin River forces the Government to back off.

NIGERIA expels more than a million Ghanaian migrant workers.

MEXICO The sheer scale of the country's debt provokes Western fears that its over-extended banks will collapse.

UNITED STATES President Reagan unveils his 'Star Wars' plan for a missile shield to protect the US from nuclear attack.

EUROPE Protest against the deployment of nuclear Cruise missiles intensifies. At least a million stage the largest demonstration in West Germany since the War. In Britain the women's peace camp at Greenham Common achieves international renown.

CHILE Nationwide demonstrations call for an end to Pinochet's dictatorship.

CHAD erupts into civil war between the forces of Goukouni Oueddei and Hissene Habre. Libya backs the former and France the latter.

PHILIPPINES Opposition leader Benigno Aquino is shot dead at the airport as he arrives home from exile to fight an election against the dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Three million attend his funeral.

GRENADA Prime Minister Maurice Bishop is arrested and killed by colleagues in the revolutionary New Jewel Movement. US marines invade and depose the Government.

LEBANON 241 US marines and 58 French paratroopers die in suicide bombings by Shia Muslims. The PLO has to quit Tripoli for Tunisia.

TURKEY returns to civilian rule as Turgut Ozal wins an election.

ARGENTINA ends military rule as Raul Alfonsin becomes the first civilian President for eight years.

1984

URUGUAY Protests against military rule, including a 24-hour general strike, force elections and a return to civilian government after 11 years.

NIGERIA suffers another military coup.

LEBANON UN peacekeepers quit the country because it is too dangerous.

BRITAIN Coalminers go on strike. Regular confrontations with police help turn the strike into a watershed battle between the Left and the right-wing Thatcher Government. It lasts a year before the miners return to work, defeated.

MOZAMBIQUE signs a peace accord with South Africa, which has supported the Renamo rebels.

INDIA Indian troops storm the Sikh Golden Temple in Amritsar, after a four-day occupation by campaigners for an independent Sikh state of Khalistan. 90 soldiers and 712 militants die. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is shot dead by Sikh bodyguards in retaliation. Anti-Sikh rioting erupts, killing 1,000 in four days. A leak from the US transnational Union Carbide's chemical plant at Bhopal kills 2,500 and destroys the health of 50,000; it is the worst industrial accident in history.

BURKINA FASO is the new name for Upper Volta, a year after revolutionary idealist and egalitarian Thomas Sankara has come to power.

PHILIPPINES Almost a million take to the streets of Manila on the anniversary of Aquino's death.

NICARAGUA Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega is elected President.

ETHIOPIA is engulfed by famine, caused by civil war and drought. The scale and severity touches the world as no African famine has before. At least half a million die of starvation.

AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND The new Labour Government bans nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered ships from the country's ports, a boost for the nuclear-free movement worldwide.

1985

BRAZIL Tancredo Neves is elected as first civilian President for 21 years but dies before taking office.

USSR Mikhail Gorbachev takes over as leader, making an immediate impact as a reformer.

LEBANON Shia Muslims take control of West Beirut in the civil war.

WORLD The UN Conference on Women takes place in Nairobi, Kenya. 10,000 attend.

AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND The Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* is blown up in Auckland harbour by French secret agents before it can lead protest at the Mururoa Atoll nuclear-test site. Photographer Fernando Pereira is killed.

SOUTH AFRICA Activists and community leaders are detained following intense township protest. The international move towards sanctions is blocked by Margaret Thatcher.

WESTERN SAHARA The Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic is admitted to the Organization of African Unity, causing the occupying power Morocco to resign.

IRELAND signs the Anglo-Irish Agreement, giving it a consultative role in running Northern Ireland.

UGANDA A military coup puts an end to Milton Obote's brutal regime.

1986

UGANDA Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army takes Kampala, ousting the new regime.

PHILIPPINES President Marcos claims he has won the election. But no-one believes him. People power forces him from the country and makes Corazon Aquino, widow of the assassinated opposition leader, the new President.

HAITI Jean-Claude 'Baby Doc' Duvalier is overthrown as dictator and flees into exile in France.

LIBYA The US bombs Tripoli in an attempt to kill President Gadafy.

USSR The nuclear reactor at Chernobyl in Ukraine explodes in history's worst nuclear accident. Radioactive pollution spreads over most of Europe.

SOUTH AFRICA People of mixed race and Indians are given the vote and their own chambers in Parliament; 'Africans' are still excluded. Black resistance turns many township areas into no-go areas for the police. Millions of black people strike for a day on the tenth anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. A nationwide state of emergency is imposed. Desmond Tutu becomes Archbishop of Cape Town. The US imposes sanctions.

PAKISTAN Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar Ali, returns and leads opposition to President Zia's regime. She is arrested.

HULTON-DEUTSCH / CORBIS

Rainbow Warrior, emblem of direct action against nuclear testing, blown up by French secret agents in 1985.

GREENPEACE

MOZAMBIQUE President Samora Machel is killed in a plane crash in South Africa.

CHINA 50,000 students demonstrate for more democracy in Shanghai.

1987

CHINA Thousands of students march on Tiananmen Square to demand more democracy. Party chair Hu Yaobang is sacked by conservatives for not stopping them.

PHILIPPINES President Aquino suppresses a pro-Marcos rebellion.

SRI LANKA A Tamil bomb kills 105 at a bus station in Colombo. War planes attack bases of the Tamil Tiger guerrillas, who want their own state in the north. The Indian Army intervenes to enforce a ceasefire but ends up fighting Tamil guerrillas.

FIJI Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka stages a coup, resenting the political power over Melanesians of Indians descended from British-imported labourers.

UNITED STATES Hearings show the Reagan regime secretly diverted money from arms sales to Iran to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua.

CENTRAL AMERICA El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua sign an agreement to restore freedom of the press, hold free elections and conclude a ceasefire with rebel groups.

BURKINA FASO Inspirational revolutionary leader Thomas Sankara is murdered by colleague Blaise Compaoré, who takes over as President.

Exulting in freedom – the huge pro-democracy demonstration in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, 1989, before the tanks come rolling in.

STUART FRANKLIN / MAGNUM

TUNISIA President Bourguiba is removed from power after 31 years.

WORLD The USSR and the US sign the first treaty ever to cut nuclear weapons, climax of a year of initiatives by the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.

1988

AFGHANISTAN Gorbachev pulls Soviet troops out of what has become the USSR's Vietnam.

ETHIOPIA and **SOMALIA** make peace after 11 years of on-off conflict and border tension.

BRAZIL Outspoken activist Chico Mendes, who works with Amazonian rubber tappers and indigenous people, is murdered by landed interests.

USSR Gorbachev's *perestroika* or 'restructuring' of the Communist system begins in earnest. The Soviet armed forces are reduced by 500,000.

BURUNDI Thousands die in ethnic conflict between Tutsi and Hutus.

PAKISTAN General Zia dies when his plane explodes. Benazir Bhutto is elected to replace him – the first female leader of a Muslim country.

PALESTINE Yasser Arafat renounces terrorism and recognizes the state of Israel. The *Intifada* rebellion begins in the the West Bank and Gaza.

WORLD A US airliner is blown up by terrorists over Britain, killing 270.

The **IRAN-IRAQ** war ends after eight years.

1989

PARAGUAY General Alfredo Stroessner is overthrown as labour, indigenous and women's protest helps end 35 years of dictatorship.

IRAN Ayatollah Khomeini dies.

CHINA Students occupy Tiananmen Square in Beijing seeking more democracy and freedom. They gain widespread support from workers. The Chinese leadership hesitates but then sends in the tanks to crush the protest brutally.

POLAND Solidarity is legalized and partially democratic elections are held.

SOUTH AFRICA Hardliner PW Botha is replaced by FW De Klerk, who starts to reform apartheid and releases eight ANC leaders from jail, including Walter Sisulu.

BALTIC Hundreds of thousands in **Latvia**, **Estonia** and **Lithuania** form a human chain protesting Soviet rule.

HUNGARY opens its border with Austria, tearing a hole in the Iron Curtain. Refugees flock out. Opposition parties are legalized.

EAST GERMANY Hardliner Erich Honecker is ousted. The Berlin Wall is pulled down by eager demonstrators. The Communist leadership resigns.

YUGOSLAVIA The Communist Party opts for political pluralism.

BULGARIA President Todor Zhivkov is forced out.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA The Communist Government falls apart after a week of mass demonstrations. Dissident writer Vaclav Havel is elected President.

CANADA Mohawks occupy ancestral ground that is to be a golf course. Despite their eventual eviction the conflict becomes a rallying-point for native struggles across North America.

PANAMA Corrupt dictator and former CIA contact Manuel Noriega is deposed in a US-backed coup. He will face drugs-trafficking charges in the US.

ROMANIA Dictator Nicolae Ceausescu's regime is overthrown after bloody streetfighting. He is executed by a new regime headed by one of his Communist colleagues, Ion Iliescu.

WORLD 80 nations agree to limit the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) to protect the ozone layer.

1990

NAMIBIA achieves its independence from South Africa. The liberation movement SWAPO forms a government under its leader Sam Nujoma.

YUGOSLAVIA The federation held together by Tito and communism starts to fray as Serbs clash with Albanians in Kosovo. Extremist nationalist Slobodan Milosevic is elected President of Serbia.

SOUTH AFRICA The ban on the ANC is lifted after 30 years. Nelson Mandela is released from prison after 28 years; he gains great worldwide respect.

NICARAGUA The Sandinista Government loses the election to a US-backed coalition headed by Violeta Chamorro. They go quietly.

CHILE General Pinochet resigns the presidency – but he will still head the Army. Patricio Aylwin is elected to replace him.

LITHUANIA declares its independence from the USSR, which sends tanks and imposes an economic blockade but to no avail.

USSR disintegrates as **Latvia, Estonia, Uzbekistan, Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia** all declare independence.

ROMANIA The first free elections since 1937 are won by Iliescu's National Salvation Front.

BURMA The first multiparty election for 30 years is won by the National League for Democracy. The military rejects the result and arrests Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of nationalist martyr U Aung San.

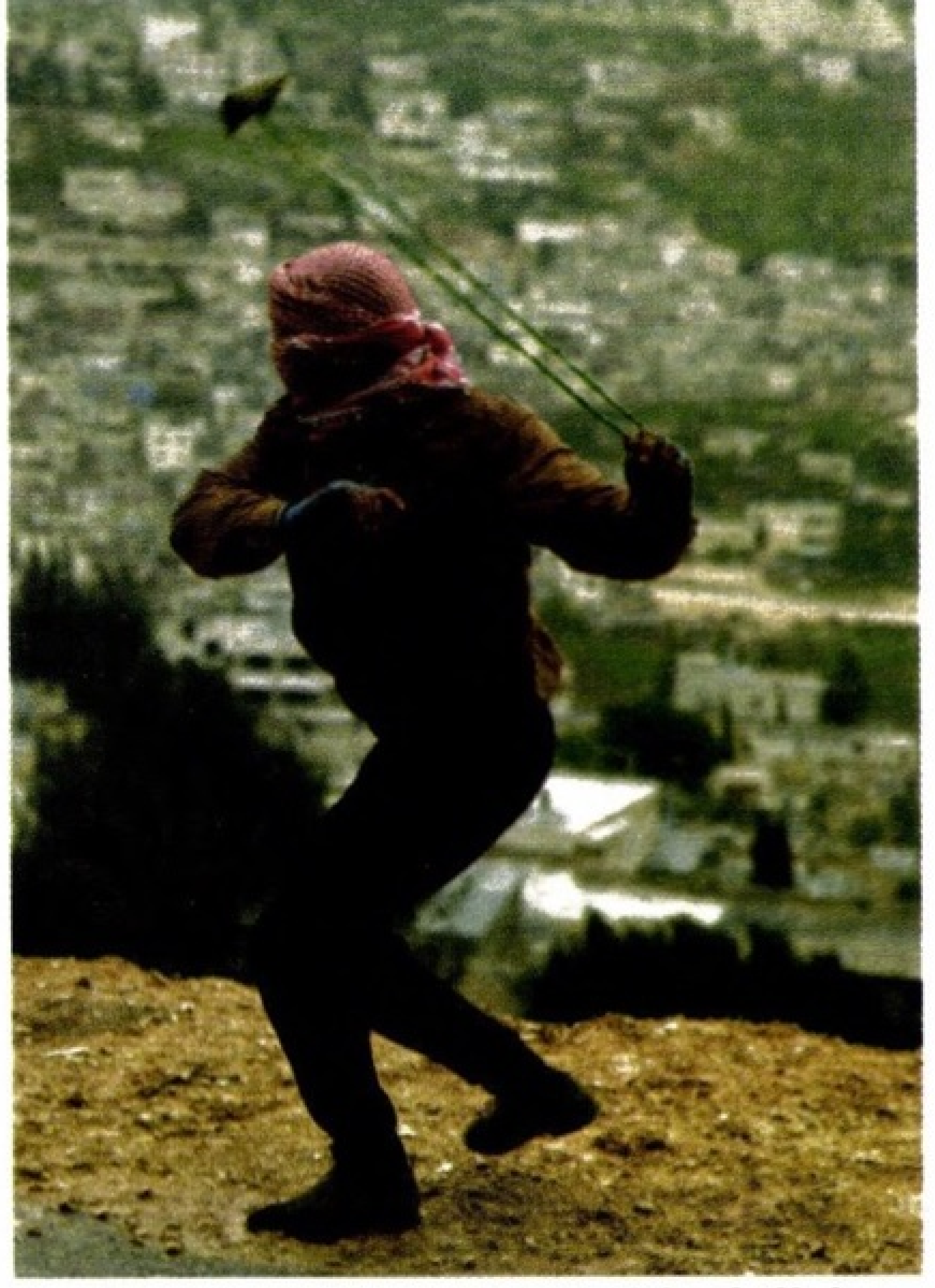
GERMANY is reunited as East Germans vote to join the Federal Republic.

POLAND Solidarity's Lech Walesa is President.

IRAQ invades **KUWAIT**. The UN Security Council imposes sanctions.

1991

KUWAIT Saddam Hussein's Iraqi forces are driven out of Kuwait by US-led UN forces in Operation Desert Storm. The US sweetens key Arab nations by offering large amounts of aid.



David's people as Goliath: the Palestinian *Intifada* begins in 1988.

PETER TURNLEY / CORBIS

IRAQ Civil war brews but UN forces do not invade to depose Saddam. US, British and French troops enter northern Iraq to protect Kurdish refugees.

SOMALIA Rebels take Mogadishu and send President Siad Barre into exile. But civil war breaks out between rival clans and warlords.

GEORGIA declares independence from the USSR.

ETHIOPIA Mengistu's Derg is overthrown as Tigray-based rebels take Addis Ababa.

ANGOLA A peace agreement seems to end the war.

ALBANIA The Government resigns after a three-week general strike.

CAMBODIA A peace treaty ends 12 years of war between the Government and the Khmer Rouge.

HAITI Democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide is ousted in a coup.

CROATIA and **SLOVENIA** declare their independence from Yugoslavia. War breaks out between Croatia and Serb forces resisting the secession.

SOUTH AFRICA Apartheid is legally ended.

AZERBAIJAN declares independence from USSR.

USSR Hardliners' coup against Gorbachev is foiled but he resigns as Communist leader. The Soviet Union is disbanded. Boris Yeltsin becomes Russian President.

KENYA After months of pressure, President Daniel arap Moi agrees to legalize opposition parties.

ZAMBIA After 27 years of one-party power, Kenneth Kaunda is defeated in multi-party elections by former union leader Frederick Chiluba.

1992

ALGERIA Islamic fundamentalists take to arms after the Government cancels elections they are poised to win. They assassinate President Boudiaf. A state of emergency is declared.

AUSTRALIA The High Court rejects the idea that the land was empty before the British arrived and recognizes indigenous Australians' prior ownership of land and native title.

EL SALVADOR The 12-year civil war comes to an end as the Government and the left-wing FMLN guerrillas sign a peace accord. 75,000 have died.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA declares its independence from Yugoslavia. Serb forces attack Sarajevo and begin 'ethnic cleansing' of Muslims.

CANADA A referendum narrowly rejects limited autonomy for Quebec.

GERMANY Green leader Petra Kelly is killed by her partner, former NATO general Gert Bastian.

ZAIRE 30 die as the dictator Mobutu's troops fire on a peaceful demonstration led by the clergy.

PERU President Alberto Fujimori suspends the constitution and begins rounding up his critics. Police capture Abimael Guzman, leader of the Sendero Luminoso guerrillas.

AFGHANISTAN The *mujahideen* – Muslim resistance fighters – take control of the capital, Kabul. But the civil war between rival factions goes on.

GHANA, ETHIOPIA and **MALI** adopt multi-party democracy.

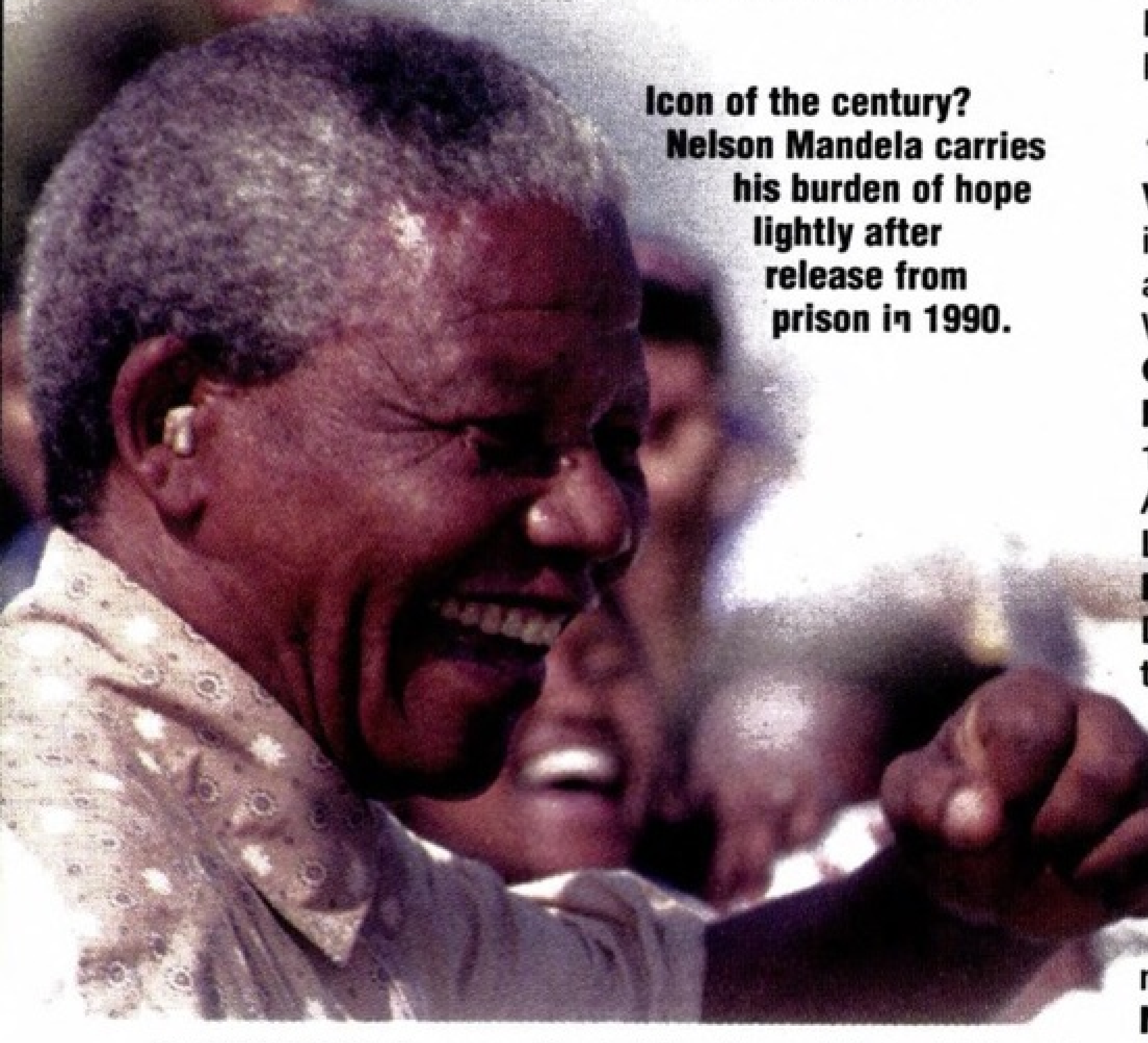
KENYA The worst tribal violence since independence kills 200 and displaces thousands.

ANGOLA UNITA rebels go on the rampage after they lose the UN-monitored election.

MOZAMBIQUE President Chissano and the Renamo leader, Afonso Dhlakama, sign a peace treaty. Over a million have died in the civil war.
WORLD The Earth Summit in Rio makes little progress on environmental change, largely due to the negative attitude of the US. Worldwide protests mark the 500th anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the New World.
BURMA Opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who is under house arrest, starts a hunger strike in her fight for democracy.
BRAZIL President Collor is charged with conspiracy and corruption.
INDIA Hindu fundamentalists demolish Ayodhya's mosque. The ensuing rioting claims 1,000 lives.
SOMALIA 35,000 US troops arrive to ensure food aid is distributed to the hungry amid the civil war.

1993

KENYA President Moi wins the first elections for 26 years despite accusations of fraud.
INDONESIA puts East Timor rebel leader José Xanana Gusmao on trial.
SOMALIA US troops clash with thousands of protesters in Mogadishu.
ERITREA wins its independence from Ethiopia after two decades of armed struggle.
PARAGUAY Juan Carlos Wasmosy becomes the first civilian president for almost 50 years.
CAMBODIA Following elections that the Khmer Rouge boycotted, Prince Sihanouk will share power with Hun Sen's Cambodia People's Party.
MALAWI Voters reject Hastings Kamuzu Banda's dictatorship and opt for democracy.
BURUNDI Hutu Melchior Ndadaye's party wins the election, marking the end of minority Tutsi rule. But paratroops stage a coup four months later and murder him. Ethnic violence mounts.
NIGERIA Moshood Abiola wins the election but General Abacha's regime nullifies the result.



Icon of the century? Nelson Mandela carries his burden of hope lightly after release from prison in 1990.

PAUL VELASCO / ABPL / CORBIS

GEORGIA Former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze routs rebel forces.
EQUATORIAL GUINEA has its first free elections.
WORLD The West welcomes the GATT deal on free trade but developing countries are dismayed.

1994

MEXICO The Zapatista uprising in Chiapas protests the new North American Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, Canada and the US.
WEST AFRICA Regional leaders appeal for help after the African franc is devalued by 50 per cent.
RWANDA The presidents of Rwanda and Burundi die when their plane is shot down over Kigali. Rwanda's Prime Minister is murdered along with ten UN soldiers, prompting UN troops to leave. Majority Hutus turn on Tutsis all over the country, massacring 500,000. More than 500,000 refugees flee into Tanzania. The Tutsi-led Rwanda Patriotic Front invades from Burundi and takes control. Two million Hutu refugees flee into Zaire; they fear reprisals but face hunger and cholera instead.
YEMEN The recently reunited country lapses into civil war as rebels in the south declare a breakaway republic. But they are soon crushed.

The colours of protest. Aboriginal demonstrators in Australia reclaim their rights after two centuries of exclusion and oppression.

MATTHEW MCKEE / EYE UBIQUITOUS / CORBIS

SOUTH AFRICA The ANC wins 62 per cent of the vote. Nelson Mandela becomes President.
NORTH KOREA Stalinist dictator Kim Il Sung dies after more than four decades in power.
AUSTRALIA/PNG Papua New Guinean villagers successfully sue the transnational BHP for environmental damage caused by the Ok Tedi mine.
NIGERIA The military regime imprisons Ogoni leader Ken Saro-Wiwa. Nobel Prize winner Wole Soyinka flees into exile.
BANGLADESH Thousands block roads calling for the resignation of Prime Minister Khaleda Zia.
NORTHERN IRELAND The Provisional IRA ceases hostilities. Loyalist paramilitary groups follow.
SOMALIA The last US marines leave after 21 months of a disastrous mission. Fighting between rival warlords continues unabated.
CHECHNYA declares its independence from Russia – but will have to fight to realize it.
HAITI Threatened by US invasion, military leaders cave in and allow President Aristide to return.
MOZAMBIQUE The Frelimo Government wins the first free elections. Renamo accepts the result.
NAMIBIA President Nujoma and SWAPO win by a landslide in the first post-independence election.

1995

WORLD The World Trade Organization comes into being. 5,000 delegates from 181 countries attend the Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing.
CHECHNYA Russian forces capture Grozny.
MEXICO The Army sweeps into Chiapas. Over 100,000 demonstrate in Mexico City, demanding Army withdrawal and peace with the Zapatistas. Later 100,000 march against austerity measures.
ETHIOPIA The ruling Ethiopian Revolutionary Democratic Front wins the first multi-party election. It proposes extensive decentralization.
PACIFIC France resumes nuclear testing in Polynesia. Riots explode in Tahiti in protest.
ISRAEL/PALESTINE Israel and the PLO sign an interim agreement allowing limited Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza. Israeli leader Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated by a Jewish right-winger.
NIGERIA The regime executes Ken Saro-Wiwa.
BOSNIA A US-brokered deal divides the country into two parts, one for Serbs and the other for Muslims and Croats.

1996

SUDAN For the first time since 1991, John Garang's rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army stages a successful offensive. The 13-year civil war has killed 1.3 million in the south.
BANGLADESH The Government of Begum Zia claims election victory but a wave of popular protest forces it to resign and a fair election sees the opposition win, led by Sheikh Hasina Wazed.
ZAIRE/RWANDA Zaire's provincial governor says he will expel 300,000 Tutsis who have lived in eastern Zaire for hundreds of years. They take on and beat the Zairean Army. Hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees pour back into Rwanda.
CUBA The US passes the Helms-Burton law – the harshest-ever economic embargo.
SRI LANKA President Chandrika Kumaratunga proclaims a state of emergency and launches an all-out attack on Tamil rebels.
SIERRA LEONE The first democratically elected government for 20 years signs a ceasefire with rebels after five years' fighting that killed 10,000.
INDONESIA Thousands demonstrate against the Government and for Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of Sukarno.
BURUNDI Amid heavy fighting, Tutsi troops stage a coup and murder the Hutu President.
CHECHNYA A peace deal is agreed after vicious fighting. Chechen rebels claim victory.
MEXICO 3,000 Zapatista supporters from all around the world meet in the Encuentro – the First Intercontinental Meeting Against Neoliberalism and for Humanity.
AFGHANISTAN Kabul falls to the extremist Taliban. It is decreed illegal for women to work.
GUATEMALA The civil war's adversaries sign a pact ending a 36-year conflict that killed 140,000.

1997

ZAIRE/CONGO After 32 years in power, Mobutu's corrupt, dictatorial rule is ended by the army of Laurent Kabila, who renames the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
CHINA Deng Xiaoping dies at the age of 92 but the anticipated turmoil does not happen – the baton change to Jiang Zemin is smooth. Britain hands over Hong Kong, which it had ruled since the end of the First Opium War in 1842.
NORTH KOREA suffers a desperate famine. Natural disasters are not the only cause – the isolationist, rigidly centralized economy is another.
INDIA celebrates the 50th anniversary of independence and elects a *Dalit* ('Untouchable') President.
BRAZIL Thousands of landless people march from Sao Paulo to Brasilia demanding land reform.
SIERRA LEONE The military retakes power. Neighbouring Nigeria, Guinea and Ghana bombard the capital but fail to dislodge the regime.
THAILAND The economy collapses, causing a domino effect in East Asian markets. A $16-billion IMF rescue package is put together.
INDONESIA The economy goes into freefall and harsh adjustment is required by the IMF in return for a $23-billion loan. Drought caused by the El Niño Pacific Ocean current contributes to history's worst forest fire, which destroys thousands of square kilometres of rainforest and covers the whole of South-East Asia in smog. Greedy landowners eager to clear forest are also to blame.
CAMBODIA Hun Sen stages a coup against his fellow Prime Minister, Prince Ranariddh.
WESTERN SAHARA Polisario and the Moroccan Government sign an agreement aimed at a referendum on the future of the country in 1998.
SOUTH KOREA Discontent at financial collapse produces a long-awaited election victory for opposition leader Kim Dae Jung.
WORLD The Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel landmines is signed after a long campaign.

FRONT COVER PHOTOGRAPHS
Top line: American Indian Movement at Wounded Knee occupation, 1973; Aboriginal demonstrator, Australia, 1980s; Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, Cuban revolutionary, 1960s; Villager foraging, Burkina Faso, 1995.
Second line: Tearing down the Berlin Wall, 1989; Sylvia Pankhurst, British suffragist campaigner, c.1910; Aspiring Red Guard in Mao's China, 1960s; Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39.
Third line: Poster encouraging women's war work, 1940s; Mohandas K Gandhi, the Mahatma, with his granddaughters, India, 1940s; Student demonstrators in Paris, May 1968; US civil-rights leader Martin Luther King, marching in Selma, Alabama, March 1965.
Fourth line: Petra Kelly, German Green leader, 1985.
Bottom line: Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov (Lenin), Russian Revolutionary leader, 1917; Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of democratic opposition to the Burmese military regime, 1990s; John Lennon, pacifist Beatle; ANC buttons campaigning for Nelson Mandela's election as President of South Africa, 1994.

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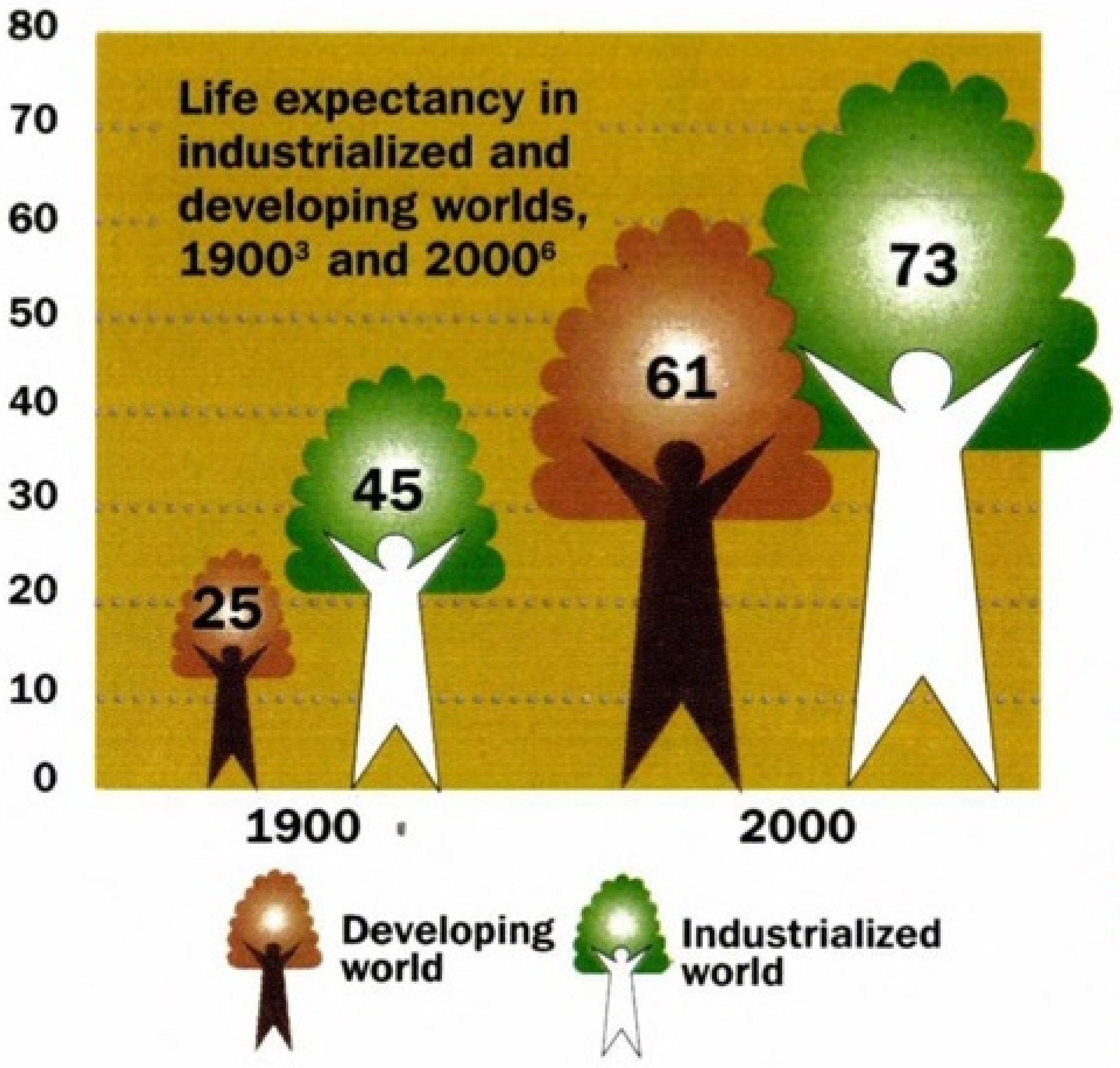
Health

For all but the wealthier inhabitants of industrialized countries in 1900 life expectancy was appallingly low. The improvements in life expectancy in all the world's regions have been dramatic, largely due to the conquest of certain key diseases and reductions in infant mortality rates. But the gap between the industrialized and developing worlds at the end of the century remains uncomfortably wide.


Life expectancy in industrialized and developing worlds, 1900[3] and 2000[6]

In the rich world over-consumption has produced its own health problems in the diseases of affluence, notably cancer and heart disease:

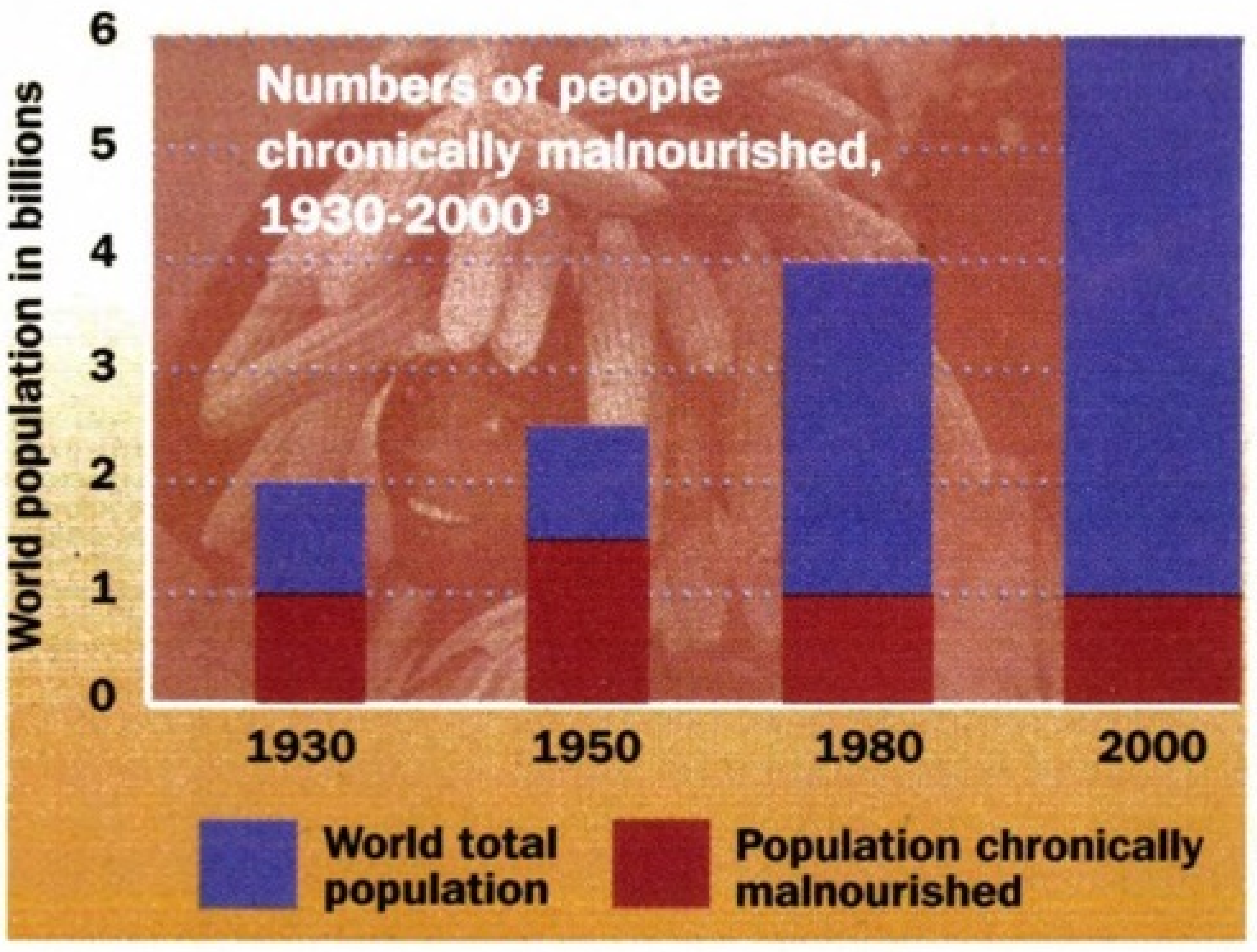
◆ Heart disease was almost unknown in 1900 beyond a pampered élite but now kills 40 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women in industrialized countries.

◆ Around 1 in 3 Americans currently contracts cancer compared with 1 in 27 in 1900.

◆ Lung-cancer rates in the industrialized world rose by 80 per cent in the 20 years after 1960, largely as a result of smoking; rates are now rising in the Majority World as the tobacco-smoking habit is exported there by Western transnationals.[7]

Hunger

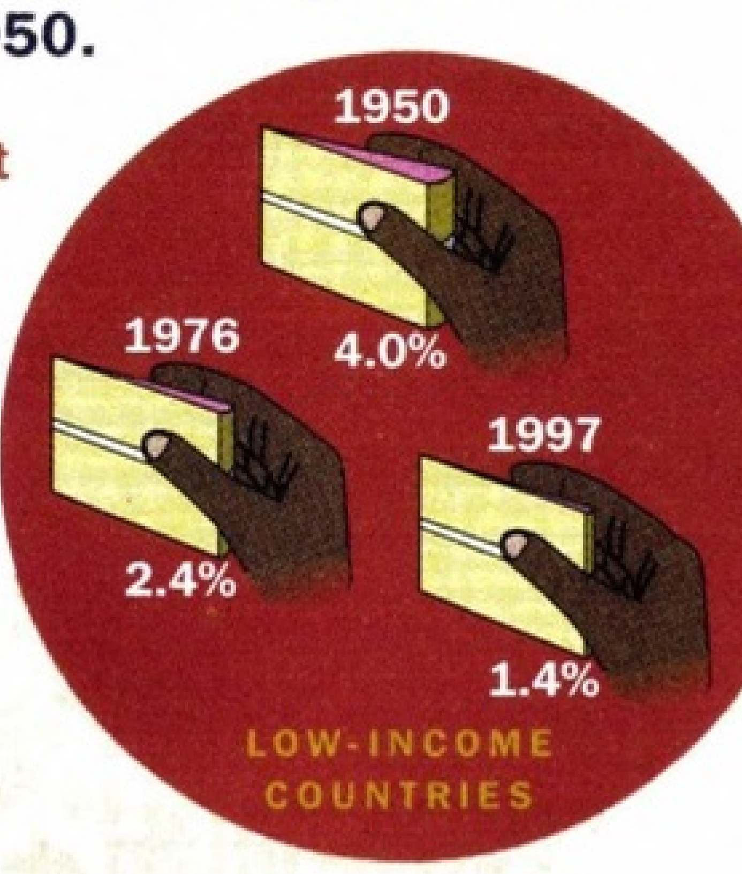
The proportion of people suffering from chronic malnutrition has declined through the century as global population has increased. But the absolute number who are chronically malnourished has remained at or over one billion from when records began in the 1930s to the present day. And in Africa, as the century ends, the proportion of people suffering from chronic malnutrition is again on the rise.

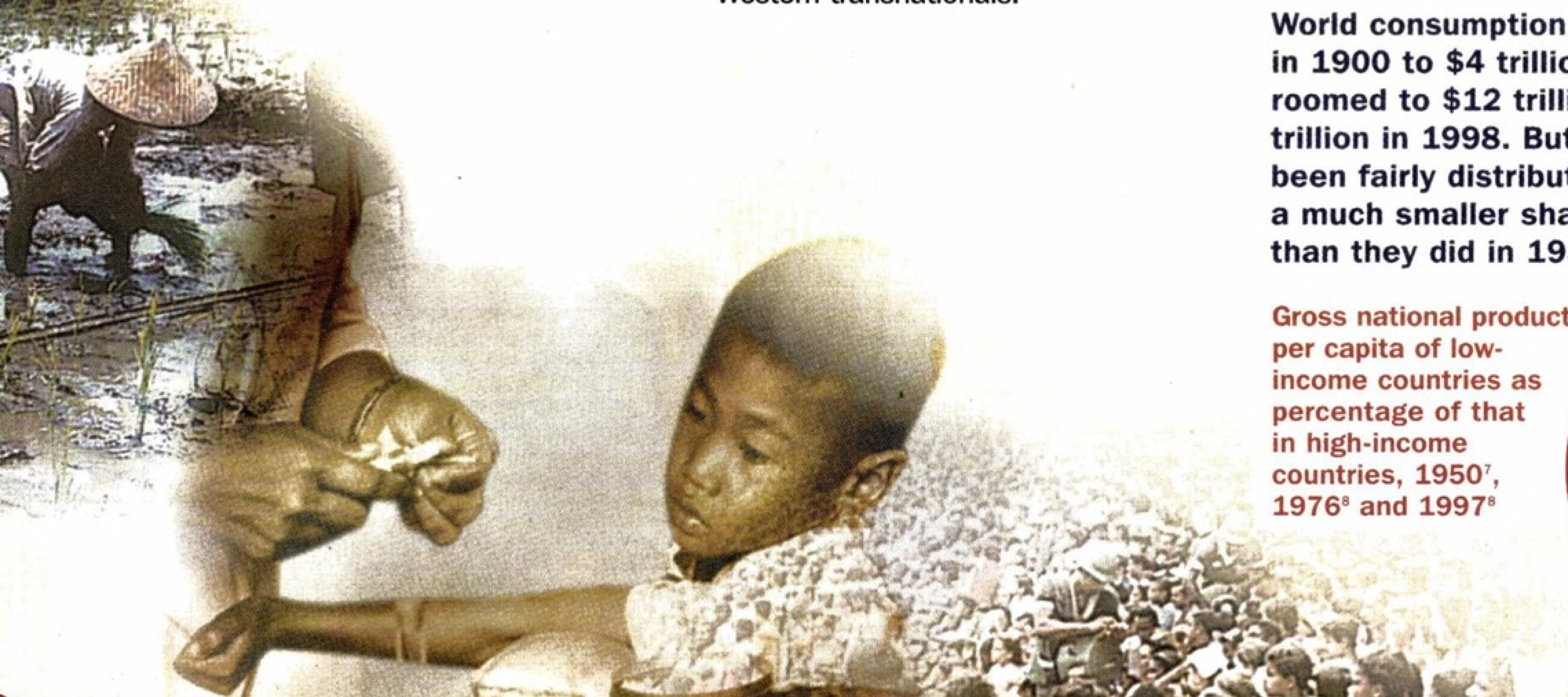

Numbers of people chronically malnourished, 1930-2000[3]

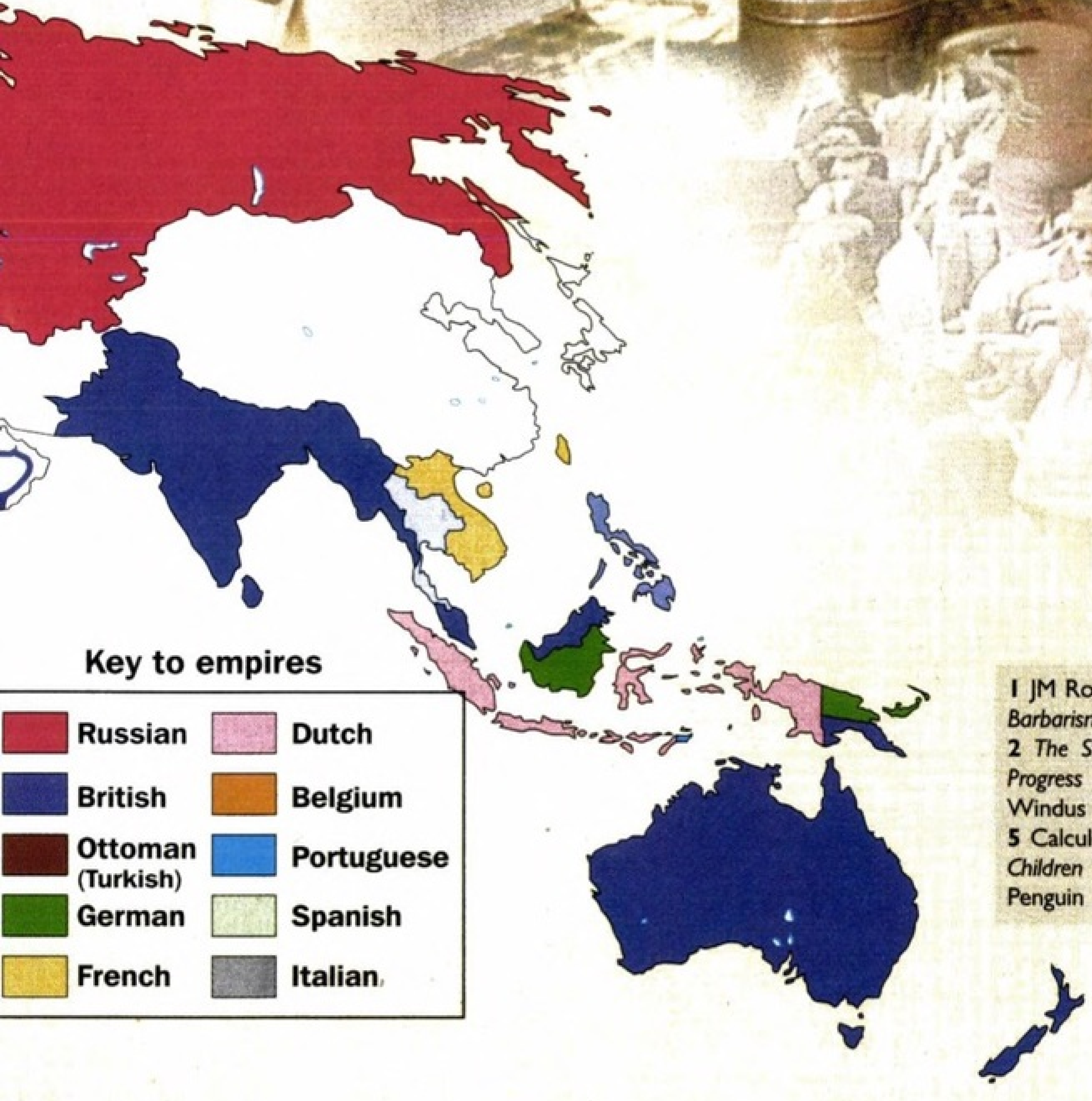
Wealth

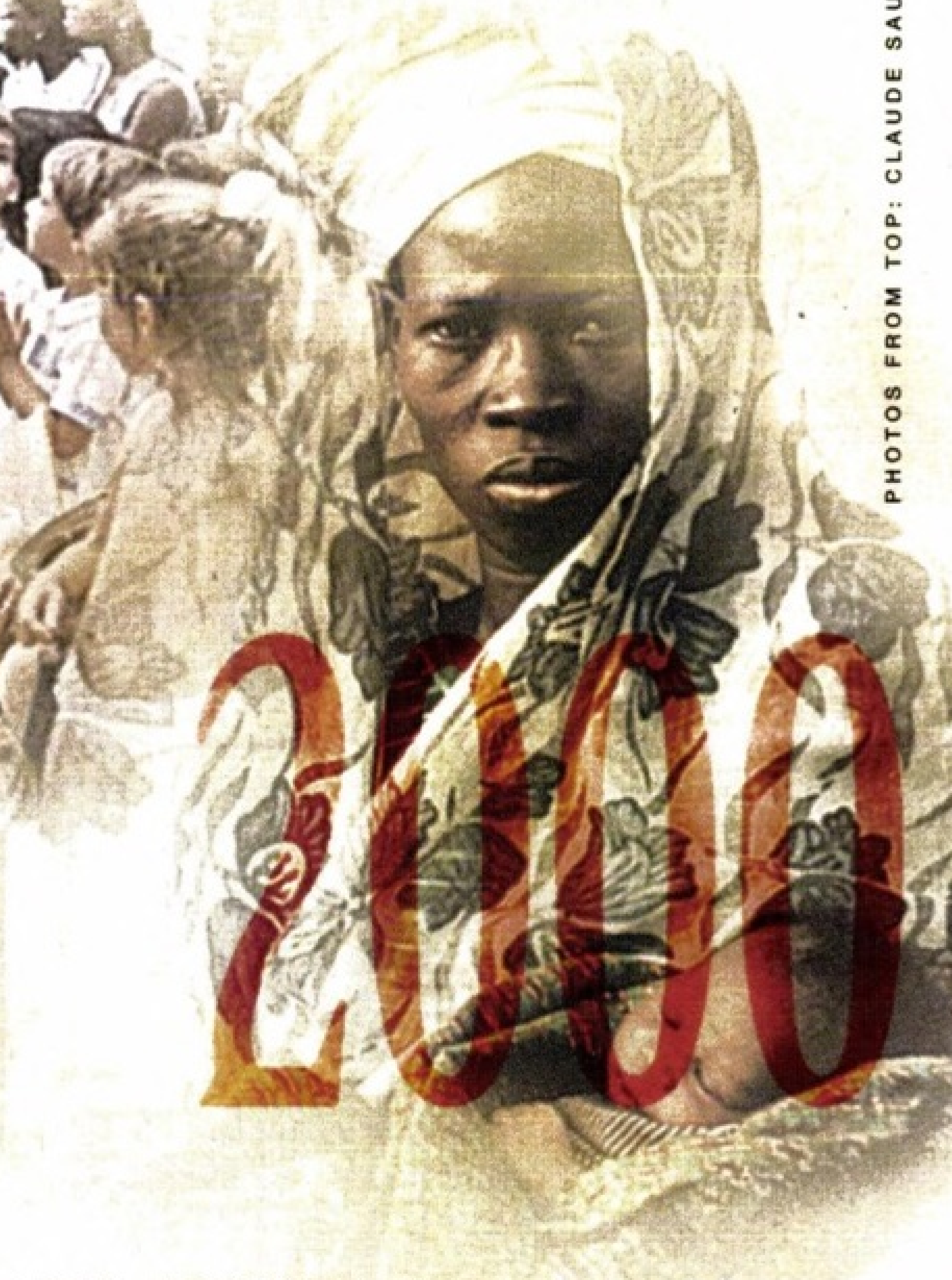
World consumption rose from $1.5 trillion in 1900 to $4 trillion in 1950, then mushroomed to $12 trillion in 1975 and $24 trillion in 1998. But the benefits have not been fairly distributed: poor countries have a much smaller share of the global cake than they did in 1950.

Gross national product per capita of low-income countries as percentage of that in high-income countries, 1950[7], 1976[8] and 1997[8]









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1 JM Roberts *History of the World*, Pelican; Clive Ponting *Progress and Barbarism: The World in the Twentieth Century*, Chatto & Windus 1998. **2** *The State of the World's Children 1998*, UNICEF. **3** Clive Ponting *Progress and Barbarism: The World in the Twentieth Century*, Chatto & Windus 1998. **4** *The World: An Illustrated History* Times Books 1988. **5** Calculated by the **NI**. **6** 1996 figures from *The State of the World's Children 1998*, UNICEF. **7** Clive Ponting *A Green History of the World*, Penguin 1993. **8** *World Development Report 1998*, World Bank.

PHOTOS FROM TOP: CLAUDE SAUVAGEOT; IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM; BARNABY'S; NAVAL PHOTOGRAPHIC CENTER; ANON; ERIC L WHEATER; ANON; CLAUDE SAUVAGEOT.

NO more WAR heroes

The century of world wars has also been the century in which militarism was effectively challenged for the first time in human history. **Dorothy Thompson** looks back on a life lived in the shadow of war and in promise of peace.

THE RADICAL TWENTIETH CENTURY

PEACE

HAVING lived in three-quarters of the years of the twentieth century, I share with many of my generation a suspicion of some of the generalizations being made about the experience of these years. Fashionable preoccupations rarely tell the whole story. Throughout my lifetime there have been alternative voices which have questioned the mainstream ideologies and, in some cases, helped to change their direction.

One area in which great changes have occurred during the century is in the public attitude to war and peace. The vocabulary in which war is spoken about has ceased to be one of courage, patriotism and national pride and has instead become one of failure or of unimaginable disaster. The 'War Office' has in general become the 'Ministry of Defence'; the greatest destructive weapons ever invented have become 'deterrents'. Most people, I think, go out of this century with a view of the military 'virtues', of the place of war in civilized society, fundamentally different from that of the nineteenth century and earlier.

Many factors have helped to change public attitudes to war and peace, but organized peace movements have certainly played a major part. Throughout my adult life I and my family have been actively involved in movements set up deliberately to campaign for the ending of war as a means of solving disputes between nations. The growth of such movements and of public support for them has undoubtedly been one of the key phenomena of this century.

In my own family – a family of artisans

The candle and the dove: mass peace demonstrations like this one in Guatemala City, are unique to the twentieth century.

JAMES CORWIN / CORBIS

and tradespeople – the two World Wars involved three generations. My grandfather, a merchant-navy officer, died serving on a minesweeper in 1916; my father and his four brothers served in the trenches for all or part of the First World War; another close relative served as a fighter pilot and emerged with shattered nerves while two others were killed in the land warfare between 1914 and 1918. In the Second World War four male relatives lost their lives. This is a fairly typical story for a European family in the twentieth century.

The inventor of dynamite at the end of the nineteenth century believed that his invention would outlaw war, since the devastation it could produce would make any major outbreak destructive beyond imagination. After 1918 the same view was held about aerial warfare. My childhood was dominated by the conviction that a major war would end up wiping out the cities of the industrial world. Since 1945 the possibility of nuclear annihilation has seemed to make war between the great powers an act of collective suicide. These factors alone have contributed to a revulsion against large-scale military adventures among thinking people in all nations – though the world is unquestionably still full of national, ethnic and political causes whose supporters see a resort to bullets and bombs as the only means of gaining their ends.

Secular transnational peace movements are developments unique to the twentieth century. For many centuries there have been religions and sects which forswore violence. There have also been anti-military ideologies, such as the belief of the nineteenth-century free-traders that trade between nations was a better way of establishing domination and spreading 'civilization' than was military conquest.

But the first real peace movements arose out of organized labour's protest against militarism and imperialism in Europe and North America in the early years of the twentieth century. The social-democratic parties of the Second International preached the unity of interest between working people throughout the world, and saw war between the great imperial powers as likely to benefit only capitalist profit. The outbreak of European war in 1914, however, saw the fracture of international workers' organizations as most members of labour movements lined up behind their own national government. Those who did not, whose conscientious objection was political rather than religious, were generally treated harshly.

Halfway through the century admiration for the military virtues started to lose their hold on people's imagination

PAUL SMITH / PANOS

The grim experience of the First World War – the futility and barbarity of which has echoed right through to the end of the century – led to a worldwide determination to make another such conflict impossible. This determination had three main strands. The first was the presence in mainstream politics of those who believed in the possibility of resolving conflict by negotiation. The hopes of these people became vested in the League of Nations: throughout the world support for the League came mainly from social-democratic parties.

Wounds that have never healed: a British soldier in the infamous killing fields of the First World War.

The second key influence on opinion was the great flowering of creative art which produced poems, novels, plays, films and paintings depicting the horror and futility of war. The peace movements which grew up between the World Wars emerged from a climate in which the major artistic talents – from the poet Wilfrid Owen to the painter Pablo Picasso – were addressing this same cause.

But the third influence lay in the work of organized peace movements. In the West the inter-war years saw the development of organizations supporting international negotiation and of movements based on personal witness and commitment. Gandhi's practice of non-violent civil disobedience had a particularly powerful effect. In Britain, for example, support for non-violence was institutionalized in the Peace Pledge Union. Founded in the early 1930s, all its members signed a personal pledge to refuse to take up arms in any cause, believing all violence inevitably provokes counter-violence.

The two strands of peace action in the 1930s were pacifism and collective security. They were not mutually exclusive but as the decade went on and Fascism and Nazism gained in power and support, the purely pacifist numbers declined. My older brother and most of his friends who had signed the peace pledge were persuaded by the Spanish Civil War of the need for armed resistance. While some of his group remained pacifists and were conscientious objectors in 1939, others went to Spain to fight against Franco's Fascists – where one of them, Ken Bond, was killed – and the majority joined the armed forces on the outbreak of war with Germany. Many of them, including my brother, were killed in action, but they believed that the war they were fighting was unavoidable.

The Second World War involved shattering but very different experiences in almost every country in the world. The victors as well as the vanquished suffered enormous loss and destruction and carried into the post-War years memories of wholesale destruction and of actions by which all humanity was shamed. Saturation bombing; nuclear devastation; the destruction of whole communities and millions of human lives: all these made the determination to avoid any other such conflict universal.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES / CORBIS

Perhaps it was at this point, halfway through the century, that it became possible to say that admiration for the military virtues had lost its hold on people's imagination. The surviyors were the people who had kept their heads down; the heroes were the unarmed or lightly armed partisan and resistance forces who had held conventional military power at bay. Generals who owed their victory to the mass bombing of civilians may have been seen as necessary evils in an all-out combat, but they were not the nations' heroes.

When the War ended in 1945 I was a member of the Communist Party. I married a fellow communist, EP Thompson, who had fought in Africa and Italy and had lost a much-loved brother, a liaison officer with the Bulgarian partisans. We shared a determination to work actively against the possibility of another war – through the development of European co-operation and the liberation of colonial peoples.

One of the first things we did together was to join the British Brigade for a summer working on building a youth railway in Yugoslavia. The experience of meeting people of our generation from Eastern as well as from Western Europe intensified a shared sense of purpose; we were a generation fully aware of how close we had been to an even more disastrous outcome. In the early years of the Cold War, the organized peace movements were led by the Communist parties throughout the West. They were agreed in seeing the main threat to peace as coming from attempts at world control by the US Government, and to an extent were instruments of Soviet foreign policy.

Within the world peace movement we were often in opposition to our own party and its leaders over their subservience to Soviet policy. The Soviet attitude towards the Eastern European states became increasingly authoritarian and many of the young people with whom we had worked in the immediate post-War years soon became victims or dissidents. Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin in the spring of 1956 were followed quickly in the autumn of that year by the Soviet invasion of Hungary. Large numbers of Communists broke with their parties and attempted to build an alliance for peace among the countries in the world not aligned with either the US or the Soviet Union.

'Battlefield' nuclear weapons would have been used in some conflicts were it not for the fear of public protest and condemnation

By then a non-Communist peace movement was gaining strength and confidence. The emergence of a post-Second World War era dominated by two superpowers – each with nuclear weapons and containing a military-industrial complex of a scale way beyond the capacity of any other state – convinced world opinion that a clash between these two powers must inevitably lead to the destruction of most of what we regard as civilization.

There has not been such a clash, and it is sometimes suggested that this is a major achievement of our century. Nevertheless there has not been a year since the end of the Second World War in which wars have not been fought on some part of the globe. These 'lesser' wars are lesser only in comparison with the enormity of the nuclear danger, since many of them involve weaponry more destructive and sophisticated than anything used in Europe in either 1914-18 or 1939-45. Wars have disrupted the production of food and other necessities, have spread famine and disease and left areas of the world uninhabitable. There can be no small wars in the modern world.

How far have post-1950 peace movements helped to reduce or avoid war? The straightforward demand for non-violent solutions to disputes between nations has probably had little direct impact.

But the major peace movements of this half-century have used non-violent forms of civil disobedience to great effect. The US campaign against the war in Vietnam gained world prominence through its vast non-violent demonstrations rather than through the small-scale violence of some activists. Although the idea of personal pledges against taking up arms has lost its resonance in a world in which the worst possible destruction can be released by the pressure of a few men's thumbs, the idea of mass non-violent public protest has become the most effective strategy for anti-war and anti-nuclear movements.

Both the campaign in 1950s Britain against the Suez adventure and the massive US anti-Vietnam War demonstrations of the 1960s had some success in ending hostilities and – perhaps even more importantly – aroused a powerful resistance, particularly among the young, against the ideology and rhetoric of militarism. Movements calling for nuclear-weapon-free zones – like those declared by New Zealand and South Pacific nations in the 1980s – and for the unilateral abandonment of nuclear weapons by the 'minor' nuclear powers, involved millions of people all over the world.

My own peace activism was in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and European Nuclear Disarmament (END) of which my husband Edward was a major spokesperson. They involved huge sectors of the centre and left of the political spectrum, calling for reduction of nuclear weapons by East and West, and the ending of the rhetoric of the Cold War. Inevitably we put together peace with citizens' rights. The END manifesto was signed by some brave Soviet and East European dissidents, a number of whom later became leaders of the 'velvet revolutions' that swept the region after 1989.

How much world peace movements contributed to the end of the Cold War is still being debated. A stronger united movement of the left and centre that gave equal importance to peace and civil rights, could have given more confidence to the civil-rights movement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Perhaps under such conditions the rampant free marketeers that now dominate the region would have had less room for manoeuvre when the Soviet empire began to break up.

But peace movements have certainly contributed in one key respect. In the early years of the Vietnam conflict American leaders were saying that it was necessary to persuade the public that nuclear weapons were like rather stronger 'conventional' weapons. This kind of rhetoric could surely have no place in political discourse today. Mass peace demonstrations throughout the world have led politicians to realize that resorting to nuclear weapons would arouse a hostile public response which could force them out of power. I am convinced that 'battlefield' nuclear weapons would have been used in some conflicts were it not for the fear of public protest – and if this were the only achievement of the peace movement it would be a hugely significant one.

In other ways, however, the rhetoric of military action seems to have made a comeback in the liberal democracies – as with the 'macho' stance adopted by the US and Britain in relation to Iraq. Perhaps each generation needs some experience of war to break through the fictions of political rhetoric. Teaching lessons to dictators, punishing terrorists, re-establishing legitimate frontiers and other such 'moral' reasons for military action are all around us as the century ends. The slow processes of negotiation and non-violent resolution of conflict seem in this respect as far from superseding war as they did at the century's outset. ■

WORLD PEACE MARCH
SAVE OUR WORLD
NUCLEAR

A will to sanity – a nuclear-freeze march in New York City in June 1982.

ROBERT MAASS / CORBIS

Dorothy Thompson lectured in social history at Birmingham University, England, until her retirement. She is still active in the peace movement.

THE RADICAL TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE FUTURE

Betrayal and promise

The century may be dying but hope of a better world is not. According to Latin American writer **Eduardo Galeano**, we should not apologize for having tried to conquer heaven but should draw strength from the mosquito cloud of popular resistance.

ILLUSTRATION BY IAN MOORE

THE twentieth century was born under the sign of revolution, and it dies marked by despair. Stop the world, I want to get off: in these times of stupor and collapse, the ranks of the regretful are swelling – regretful of political passion and regretful of all passion. There are many who apologize for having believed that it was possible to conquer heaven; there are many who fervently seek to kick over their own traces and climb down from hope, as if hope were a worn-out horse.

End of the century, end of the millennium: end of the world? How much unpoisoned air have we still got left? How many unspoiled lands, how many waters not yet dead? How many non-ailing souls? In its Hebrew version, the word sick means 'without a project', and this is the gravest sickness among the many plagues of our times. But someone, who knows who, wrote in passing on a wall in the city of Bogotá: 'Let's leave pessimism for better times.'

> ***The civilization that confuses clocks with the time also confuses nature with postcards***

Whenever we take it into our heads to express hope in Spanish, we say: *abrigamos esperanzas* ('we shelter hope'). Nice expression, nice challenge: sheltering it to prevent it from dying of cold in the implacably rough climate of our present times. According to a recent survey carried out in 17 Latin American countries, three out of four people describe their situation as stagnant or worsening. Is it necessary to accept misfortune as one accepts winter or death? It is time for we Latin Americans to start asking: are we going to resign ourselves to enduring life and to being no more than a caricature of the North? No more than a mirror which multiplies the distortions of the original image? The look-after-number-one attitude degenerating into 'let them die if they can't'? Swarms of losers in a race where the majority are pushed off the track? Crime turned to slaughter, urban hysteria elevated to total madness? Have we nothing else to say and to live through?

Fortunately, we hardly ever hear history described as infallible these days. We are well aware by now that history makes mistakes, that it gets distracted, falls asleep, loses its way. We make it, and it looks like us. But, like us, it is also unpredictable. It is with human history as with football: its best feature is its ability to surprise. Against all forecasts, against all evidence, the little guy sometimes leads the invincible giant a merry dance.

However messed-up the warp of reality, new fabrics are being woven on to it, and those fabrics are made up of a weft of many and diverse colours. Alternative social movements express themselves not only through parties and unions, but in other ways too. There is nothing spectacular about the process, and it happens mostly at a local level, but everywhere, on a worldwide scale, a thousand-and-one new forces are emerging. They sprout from the bottom up and from inside outwards. Without any fuss, they put their shoulder to the wheel of rebuilding democracy, nourished by popular participation, and are reclaiming the battered traditions of tolerance, mutual help and communion with nature. One of their spokespeople, Manfred Max-Neef, defines them as a cloud of mosquitoes launched against a system which spurns embraces and forces us to jostle. 'The mosquito cloud,' he says, 'is more powerful than the rhinoceros. It grows and grows, buzzes and buzzes.'

In Latin America, they are a dangerous expanding species: the organizations of the landless, the homeless, the jobless, all the lesses; the groups working for human rights; the white scarves of the mothers and grandmothers who oppose the impunity of power; the neighbourhood movements; the citizens' groups fighting for fair prices and healthy products; those who struggle against racial and sexual discrimination, against machismo and against the exploitation of children; the ecologists; the pacifists; the health workers and popular educators; those who trigger collective creation and those who rescue collective memory; the co-operatives engaged in organic agriculture; community radio and television stations; and many other voices of popular participation which are neither the spare tyres of any party nor chapels subject to any Vatican. These driving forces of civil society are frequently persecuted by the powers-that-be, sometimes by means of the bullet. Some activists fall, riddled with bullets, on the way. May the gods and the devils rest their souls: it's the fruit-yielding trees that the stones are thrown at.

Against all forecasts, against all evidence, the little guy sometimes leads the invincible giant a merry dance

With one or two exceptions, like the Zapatistas of Chiapas and the landless in Brazil, it is rare for these movements to be at the forefront of public attention; and not because they don't deserve it. Just to mention one case, one of these popular organizations, born in recent years and unknown outside the borders of its own country, has set an example which the Latin American presidents ought to follow. El Barzón is the name of an organization of debtors who have joined together in Mexico to defend themselves against the usury of the banks. El Barzón sprang up spontaneously. Initially, they were few. Few, but contagious. Now they are a multitude.

Our presidents would do well to learn from that experience, enabling countries to unite, as people did in Mexico, and form a single front against the financial despotism which imposes its will by negotiating with each country separately. But the presidents' ears are full of the resonant platitudes they exchange each time they meet and pose for the family photograph, with the President of the United States – the Mother Country – always in the centre.

It's happening in many places on the Latin American map: people are uniting against the paralyzing gases of fear and, united, they are learning not to bow their heads. As Old Antonio says: 'Everyone is as small as the fear they feel, and as big as the enemy they choose.' No longer cowed, these people are saying their piece. To give another Mexican example, the Zapatistas' Subcomandante Marcos speaks for the unders: the underdeveloped, the underfed, the undermined, the underheard. The indigenous communities of Chiapas discuss and decide, and he is their mouthpiece. The voice of those who have no voice? They, who have been forced into silence, are the voice. They speak through what they say and they speak through their silence.

The official history, a mutilated memory, is a long ceremony of self-praise by those who call the shots in this world. Their reflectors, which illuminate the peaks, leave the base in the dark. The usual invisible beings form part, at best, of the scenery of history, like Hollywood extras. But it is they, the actors in the real history, the denied, lied-about, hidden protagonists of past and present reality, who embody the splendid fan of another possible reality. Blinded by elitism, racism, sexism and militarism, America continues to ignore the plenitude within it. And this is doubly true in the South: Latin America is endowed with the most fabulous human and vegetal diversity on the planet. This is where its fecundity and its promise reside. As the anthropologist Rodolfo Stavenhagen puts it: 'Cultural diversity is to the human species what biological diversity is to the world's genetic wealth.' To enable these energies to express the possible wonders of the people and the land, one would have to start by not confusing identity with archaeology, or nature with scenery. Identity is not something frozen in the museums, nor is ecology reducible to gardening.

Five centuries ago, the people and the lands of the Americas were incorporated

ILLUSTRATION BY IAN MOORE

into the world market as things. A few conquerors, the conquered conquerors, were able to fathom the American plurality, and they lived within it and for it; but the Conquest, a blind and blinding enterprise like all imperial invasions, was capable of recognizing the indigenous people, and nature, only as objects to be exploited or as obstacles. Cultural diversity was dismissed as ignorance and punished as heresy, in the name of a single god, a single language and a single truth, and this sin of idolatry merited flogging, hanging or the stake.

There is no longer talk of subjecting nature: now its executioners prefer to say that it has to be protected. But in either case, then and now, nature is external to us: the civilization that confuses clocks with the time also confuses nature with postcards. But the vitality of the world, which mocks all classifications and is beyond all explanations, never stays still. Nature realizes itself in movement, as do we, its children, who are what we are at the same time as we are what we do to change what we are. As Paulo Freire, the educator who died learning, said: 'We exist in motion.'

> ***'Everyone is as small as the fear they feel, and as big as the enemy they choose'***

The truth is in the journey, not in the port. There is no truth but the quest for truth. Are we condemned to criminality? We are well aware of the fact that we human creatures are very busy devouring our fellow beings and devastating the planet, but we also know that we wouldn't be here if our remote Paleolithic ancestors had been unable to adapt to the nature they were part of, or not been willing to share what they hunted and gathered. No matter where, how or when a person may live, each one contains within themselves many possible persons, and it's the ruling system, which has nothing eternal about it, that invites our basest occupants on to the stage every day, while preventing the others from growing and banning them from making an appearance. We may be badly made, but we're not finished yet; and it's the adventure of making changes and changing ourselves which makes this flicker in the history of the universe that we are, this fleeting warmth between two glaciers, worthwhile. ■

Uruguayan writer **Eduardo Galeano** is the author of such classics as *The Open Veins of Latin America* and *Memory of Fire*. He is a frequent contributor to the **NI**. His original Spanish was translated by Ana Ransom.

big Bad Century

POLYP

DON'T GET ME WRONG - I'M NOT DISMISSING ALL THOSE OTHER CENTURIES, THEY'RE ALL SOLID, TOP-NOTCH CENTURIES THAT MUST'VE BEEN AMAZING TO LIVE IN...
BUT-
THIS IS IT. THIS IS THE CENTURY THAT REALLY MATTERS...
NO, I'M NOT COMING OVER ALL APOCALYPTIC JUST 'COZ THERE'S A BIG ROUND NUMBER COMING UP, THAT'S JUST WESTERN CHRONOLOGY, A COINCIDENCE!
IT COULD HAVE BEEN SOME OTHER CENTURY, HISTORY COULD'VE TAKEN A DIFFERENT PATH...
BUT IT DIDN'T.
AND SO THIS IS IT.
THE ONE WE'VE ALWAYS BEEN HEADING TOWARDS.
IT'S THE EXPONENTIAL CENTURY...
DTH AK GUK AKHUK HRK UUM RK OHG KURR..!!
[YOU SEE, FOR MOST OF HISTORY WE JUST SORT OF BUMBLED ALONG... WE EVOLVED OUR BRAINS A LITTLE MORE, WE SMASHED IN THE BRAINS OF OTHER TRIBES WHO GOT ON OUR NERVES...]
THEN WE STARTED DOING AGRICULTURE, LIVING IN CITIES, SLAVE LABOUR, ORGANIZED WARFARE, ALL MANNER OF EXCELLENT THINGS, BUT NO MATTER WHAT WE DID, WE DIDN'T SEEM TO HAVE ANY REAL, SERIOUS, GLOBAL IMPACT...
DON'T GET US WRONG... WE FELT JUST LIKE YOU DO... WE ADORED POWER, WE LOVED TO BUTCHER AND TORTURE THE UNBELIEVERS AND TROUBLEMAKERS...
WE LOVED TO MAKE HUGE PILES OF MONEY BY EXPLOITING ANYONE WE COULD. WE WANTED TO DO IT ALL.
BUT THERE WEREN'T ENOUGH OF US, WE DIDN'T HAVE the TECHNOLOGY to GET REALLY STUCK IN.
"WE? WE?!"
Article 4
No one shall be held in slavery
slave trade sh
Article 5
shall subjected to t
or degr
NOW DON'T TAKE THIS PERSONALLY OR ANYTHING... BUT BRAINS CAN'T EVOLVE EXPONENTIALLY... AND SO LOTS OF THE STUFF IN THE HUMAN HEAD IS STILL... WELL... SORT OF MONKEY-LIKE, REALLY.
Y'KNOW... TERRITORIALITY, HATRED OF THE OTHER, AN OBSESSION WITH DOMINANCE HIERARCHIES, ALL THAT STUFF... GREAT FOR SURVIVING PREHISTORY, BUT NOT A LOT OF USE FOR CREATING UTOPIA...
IT'S ALL A BIT LIKE A DISTURBED CHILD THAT'S BEEN GIVEN A STICK OF DYNAMITE AND A BOX OF MATCHES...
ME BIGGEST MONKEY · ME IN CHARGE
SORRY.
DON'T GET ME WRONG... I TRY TO BE AN OPTIMIST, MAYBE ALL THIS IS JUST A KIND OF EVOLUTIONARY ADOLESCENCE, A MOODY, SPOTTY PHASE WE'VE GOT TO GO THROUGH BEFORE OUR COLLECTIVE HORMONES SETTLE DOWN AND WE START BEHAVING LIKE A SANE, COMPASSIONATE, CO-OPERATIVE SPECIES...
SOMETIMES I FEEL HOPE, I REALLY DO, ALMOST ALL WE EVER SEEM TO TALK ABOUT IS WHAT'S RIGHT OR WRONG, WE'RE CONSTANTLY MAKING UNIVERSAL DECLARATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WE GIVE AWAY OUR MONEY TO DISASTER VICTIMS WE'VE NEVER EVEN MET!

BUT THEN~ IT HAPPENED! IT COULD'VE BEEN SOMEONE ELSE, SOME OTHER TIME, COULD'VE BEEN EGYPT OR CHINA OR THE AZTECS, WHO CARES, THE THING IS, IT WAS US!
WE GOT THERE FIRST! WE TOOK THE ROAD TO THE EXPONENTIAL CENTURY!
EVERYTHING WENT UP THE CURVE, THE WORLD POPULATION DOUBLING EVERY 40 YEARS, SUDDENLY WE COULD SEND MESSAGES ACROSS THE GLOBE, SPLIT THE ATOM AND OBLITERATE OURSELVES OVERNIGHT, EXPLOIT AND MASSACRE EACHOTHER ON AN UNHEARD-OF SCALE, CREATE NEW MOLECULES THAT'LL NEVER GO AWAY, CONSUME MORE THAN ALL THE PREVIOUS CENTURIES PUT TOGETHER, CHANGE OUR D.N.A., WE CAN EVEN ALTER THE CLIMATE AND TURN THE PLANET INTO ONE THAT CAN'T SUPPORT OUR KIND OF CIVILIZATION, WE CAN DO IT ALL, BECAUSE THIS IS IT, THIS IS THE EXPONENTIAL CENTURY...
WE'VE ARRIVED...
r servitude: s
hibited in all
ture or
punishm
IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS YOU COULD GET A BIG ROUND OF APPLAUSE AND A KISS ON THE RING FOR TORTURING PEOPLE IN PUBLIC, BUT NOW YOU HAVE TO DO IT ON THE QUIET...
HARDLY ANYONE SEEMS TO CLAP YOU ANY MORE FOR OWNING SLAVES.
MAYBE THIS IS JUST THE DARKEST HOUR BEFORE THE DAWN, MAYBE IT'S ALL GOING TO BE O.K..? THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS NOT TORTURING AND EXPLOITING EACHOTHER HAS GOT TO BE ADMITTING IT'S NOT THE RIGHT THING TO DO, ISN'T THAT HOW CHANGE HAPPENS, ISN'T THAT WHAT WE'RE DOING
ISN'T THAT A REASON TO FEEL HOPE, ISN'T IT, ISN'T IT? WELL?! ISN'T IT?!
O.K. THEN. FINE. FORGET IT.
IF YOU'RE GOING TO STAY UNDER YOUR DESK...
... I'M STAYING UNDER MINE.

Thanks to Jane, Jonathan, Jai and Kat.

Heaven, hell and spring sunshine

Horizon of defiance. Campaigners who brought down the Indonesian dictator Suharto are helping to shape a new global agenda.

Chris Brazier's last thoughts on the twentieth century take in Disney and Jules Verne, Isaiah Berlin and Josef Mengele, the World Bank and the Tower of Progress.

ONE of Disneyland Paris's more impressive exhibits is a nine-screen cinema which shows films in the 360-degree round, so that if you see the Matterhorn in front of you, you will be able to turn your head and see Zermatt behind you as if you were truly amidst the Swiss Alps. Such setpiece scenes are woven together by an enjoyable nonsense of a narrative that has a robot time-traveller picking up nineteenth-century science-fiction writer Jules Verne by mistake and taking him on a journey into our own age. Naturally Verne is a sucker for the wonders of scientific progress – space rockets and racing cars – and a veil is drawn over the debit side of the ledger, such as environmental destruction. Eventually we and Verne are taken farther on into the future and are vouchsafed a brief vision of a Parisian metropolis a century or so on as a kind of science-fiction heaven on earth.

This firm faith in scientific advancement as a guarantor of human progress will come as no surprise to readers of the **NI**'s recent issue on the Disney corporation (**NI 308**). And it can beguile even the most cynical of us. But in truth only the most blinkered, privileged observer could retain an unalloyed faith in the notion of human progress at the end of the twentieth century of which the philosopher Isaiah Berlin said: 'I remember it only as the most terrible century in human history.'

Of course the balance sheet at the end of the century can point to amazing improvements, not least in higher life expectancy and declining infant-mortality rates all over the world. Most inhabitants of industrialized countries, and a significant élite in developing nations, benefit from a level of comfort, education and access to information undreamed of by even the most ardent optimist in 1900.

But all too much of the progress has been for the exclusive benefit of the richest fifth of the world's people, who now receive over 80 per cent of the world's income compared to the 2 per cent earned by the poorest fifth.[1] The scale of destruction of human life in the century should alone be enough to dispel any lingering illusions about the inevitability of progress. 'Hundreds of millions starved to death because of the permanent maldistribution of the available food in the world. In addition, about 100 million died in the great famines of the century... War killed another 150 million, government repression about 100 million. The total of 14 million who died in the century's genocides was, on this scale, comparatively small, but they were victims of the greatest acts of deliberate murder.'[1]

All meditations on the meaning of the century, even the mainstream ones, must inevitably return to the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews – and the Romanies, gays and socialists who perished in the death camps alongside them. The ethnic genocide which began and ended the century – the Turkish massacre of Armenians at the beginning and the Serb extinction of Bosnians and Albanians at the end – is depressing enough evidence of the human incapacity to outgrow blind prejudice and bloodthirstiness. But the Nazi extermination programme stands unique in history for its particular horror – the industrialization of mass murder, the routine annihilation of six million people by faceless bureaucrats and soldiers who were simply 'doing their job'.

A recent interview in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* with a man who worked as a doctor at Auschwitz underlines the peculiarly twentieth-century horror of what Hannah Arendt called 'the banality of evil'. Dr Hans Münch conducted scientific experiments on people under the auspices of the notorious Josef Mengele. He still feels no remorse, no regrets about the part he played and he lives in comfortable retirement. 'To eradicate the Jews, that was the job of the SS at the time,' says Münch. 'I could do experiments on people, which otherwise were only possible on rabbits. It was important work for science... No, I can't say I felt pity.'

The Holocaust single-handedly demolished the idea that the century's undoubted scientific progress was paralleled by a comparable moral progress. Even those who experienced it at first hand confess themselves unable to testify to its essential horror. 'We who survived the Camps are not true witnesses,' said the great Italian writer Primo Levi. 'We are those who, through prevarication, skill or luck, never touched bottom. Those who have, and who have seen the face of the Gorgon, did not return, or returned wordless.'[2] We can only hope that the Nazi Holocaust remains unparalleled in

LUC DELAHAYE / MAGNUM

human history. By the end of the next century the historical memory of this bleakest of episodes must remain starkly alive, its lessons remembered and understood.

The other force undermining the Tower of Progress at the end of the century is the destruction of the global environment. Even the greatest scientific achievements seem to have their counterpoint in environmental devastation. Vast increases in food production have destroyed natural habitats and rendered huge tracts of land infertile. The advantages of electricity or high-speed travel have ultimately, through the emission of gases into the atmosphere, produced the alarming phenomenon of global warming.

> ***Only the most blinkered, privileged observer could retain an unalloyed faith in the notion of human progress***

Yet paradoxically, from the point of view of resistance adopted by this magazine, the environment provides hope as well as despair. For it is here that the cracks in the capitalist system yawn widest. The free market may be capable of a great number of things for which it has not been given credit but protecting the environment is certainly not one of them. A system built on the pursuit of profit by competing companies is bound to be incapable of safeguarding the earth's natural resources. If the environment is to be protected and the exploitation of its resources controlled – and not even the most enthusiastic optimist could believe that current rates of economic growth might be sustained throughout the next century – it will have to be ordered and regulated by the national and supranational state.

In the working out of a sustainable future – and in the resurgence of interest in regulating the free market which will go hand in hand with it – will come the opportunity of the resistance movements featured in this magazine to find their voice and exert their influence. The fissures in the free-market 'end-of-history' model are already opening up.

When Eric Hobsbawm wrote his seminal history of the 'short twentieth century' in the early 1990s, he correctly identified the free-market flagellation of Russia and Eastern Europe as a disastrous mistake and explained why the current mania for globalization and growth could not last. But he still accepted, as did everyone else, South Korea's status as an economic tiger, suggesting that the uncontrolled power of the global machine 'raised both economic and social problems, though obviously far more immediately troubling ones in some countries (eg Britain) than in others (eg South Korea).'[2] The collapse of South Korea, vaunted as a model by experts for so many years, has opened up an uncomfortably large trapdoor beneath the globalists' pretensions.

As a result even the world's economic thought police, the World Bank and the IMF, are having to take stock. Again, when Hobsbawm was writing in the early 1990s, there was no sign of this. The two institutions, he wrote, pursued free-market policies which suited the late twentieth-century US economy as well as they had the mid-nineteenth-century British one, but did not suit the world. 'If global decision-making was to realize its potential,' he continued, 'such policies would have to be changed. This did not look like an immediate prospect.'[2]

Yet the shock to the system is such that the Chief Economist at the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz, is now touring the world on an apparent personal crusade to show that the policies of 'the Washington Consensus' since the 1970s – structural adjustment, privatization, deregulation – have been a failure. This has been obvious to any sensible observer for at least the last decade – if any national finance ministry had the record of consistent failure shown by IMF they would have been disbanded long ago. There are two perspectives on how and why the message has finally got through. The cynical response is that the 'change of heart' is simply because Western economists and financiers are concerned that the East Asian shockwaves could actually bring their own houses tumbling around their ears rather than just the insignificant mud walls of the poor.

But the more positive response is that this is yet another example where a long campaign of resistance has finally won its reward, where an apparently marginal idea has finally become the accepted wisdom of the mainstream. Stiglitz argues that the State must intervene to correct the market's shortcomings and that a successful economy and balanced society will see government playing a strong role in regulation, social security, health and education. This, he maintains, must form the core of a new consensus – a new economic agenda for the twenty-first century. We should not look this particular gift horse in the mouth, but should keep up the pressure for the more profound changes – especially in the environmental area – which the World Bank is still far from contemplating.

Popular protest and resistance can still make a difference, especially in an age when politicians are more distrusted than ever before. The fall of the Stalinist regimes of Eastern Europe shows this as clearly as it does Communism's failure: once public consent and willing obedience were lost, the bureaucrats melted away as quickly as snow in spring sunshine, for all their tanks and secret police.

Yesterday's alternative tributary becomes today's mainstream. Not by any means in all cases, since, God knows, resistance movements have no monopoly on wisdom; the catalogue of their errors would run very long. But the need for an alternative vision of human progress and development based on social justice, ecological sanity, equality and human rights is no less essential at the end of the century than it was at the beginning. People in the protest movements of today are advancing much-needed ideas that will be considered orthodox a further hundred years on. Green activists' challenge to the Great God Growth – still so heretical for politicians the world over – is the clearest current example but it is not the only one. Our resistance and our idealism has made a difference to the twentieth century – and it must make an even greater difference to the twenty-first. ■

FOOTNOTES/WORTH READING

1 Clive Ponting, *Progress and Barbarism: The World in the Twentieth Century*, Chatto & Windus 1998. **2** Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, Michael Joseph 1994.

Millennial books are now pouring out but these are the two best companions on a journey through the century. Ponting's account follows his *Green History of the World* (Penguin 1993) and thus has a welcome tilt towards environmental concerns and the perspective of the Majority World. Hobsbawm's book follows his trilogy on the 'long nineteenth century' from 1789 to 1914. His idea of a 'short twentieth century' ending in 1991 leads him to focus mainly on the clash of the titans in the North and he can be dismissive of Green concerns. But his insights into the workings (and failures) of both capitalism and communism are consistently fascinating.

1998

...AS SEEN FROM THE **PERSPECTIVE** OF THE **MAJORITY WORLD**

OUR MEDIA FEED US NEWS DOMINATED BY RICH-WORLD EVENTS AND PREOCCUPATIONS. HERE THE **NI** REDRESSES THE BALANCE WITH AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF THE YEAR'S KEY EVENTS.

JANUARY

SOMALIA Rival Somali factions sign a peace agreement in Cairo to end six years of clan warfare and rebuild state institutions. The warlord Hussein Mohamed Aideed and his main rival, Ali Mahdi Mohamed, sign the deal after 40 days of negotiation.

ALGERIA More than 400 villagers are slaughtered on the first evening of Ramadan, the holiest month in the Muslim year, in attacks on remote hamlets around the town of Relizane, west of Algiers. The Armed Islamic Group, the dissident wing of the Islamist opposition movement, is held responsible for this, the biggest massacre of Algeria's six-year-old civil conflict, which has already claimed 75,000 lives.

INDIA In one of the largest peaceful sit-ins in Indian history, over 20,000 villagers congregate around the partly-built Maheshwar Dam on the Narmada river in Madhya Pradesh, one of the sites of the $4.9 billion Narmada Valley Development Project. With plans for 30 big dams, 135 medium-sized ones and 3,000 small ones in the valley, India's first privatized hydroelectric power project faces fierce local and international protests as it threatens to destroy the land and homes of thousands of families.

BRITAIN Defence Secretary, George Robertson announces plans for Britain to destroy its entire stock of anti-personnel landmines by the year 2000, five years earlier than expected, under requirements set by the Ottawa Convention. 4,000 mines for British soldiers' disarmament training are to be left.

ASIA Asian currencies fall to new depths as a result of the region's continuing economic crisis. Indonesia and Thailand are especially hard hit. Thailand, South Korea and Malaysia plan to expel millions of immigrant workers.

US/AFGHANISTAN Leaders of the US women's movement are up in arms over an agreement by the Clinton Administration to back a $4.5 billion oil pipeline deal between the US and Afghanistan's ruling Taliban, renowned for its extreme oppression of women.

PAKISTAN The campaign against opium cultivation had remarkable success with production dropping from 800 tonnes in 1980 to 24 tonnes in 1997.

FEBRUARY

SRI LANKA celebrates 50 years of independence. Festivities are scaled down following a Tamil Tiger bomb attack in which 11 people were killed at Kandy's temple where the main ceremony was to have taken place.

MONGOLIA A report by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization says Mongolia, Asia's newest democracy, needs 90,000 tons of food aid to combat widespread malnutrition. But the Mongolian Government claims money, not food, is in short supply.

COSTA RICA Miguel Angel Rodriguez, leader of the opposition Christian Social Unity Party, wins the presidential elections with a much narrower margin than expected.

MAURITANIA The chair of Mauritania's main anti-slavery pressure group, SOS Esclavage, and three other human-rights activists are sentenced to 13 months in prison after declaring on French television that use of slaves in the West African country is continuing and widespread. The arrests effectively silence all human-rights opposition to leader Colonel Maaouya Sid' Ahmed Ould Taya.

IRAQ UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, and Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz, sign an accord providing 'immediate, unrestricted and unconditional access to the Unscom weapons inspectors to all suspect sites in Iraq'. ***(See Box: Disarming Iraq, Page 42)***

SUDAN The UN launches an appeal for $109 million of aid to Sudan, where drought is exacerbating problems caused by 14 years of civil war.

KOREA Kim Dae Jung, persecuted, jailed, exiled and hounded for decades by previous governments, calls for 'reconciliation' and a break with the 'authoritarian past' as he is inaugurated as South Korea's new President.

MARCH

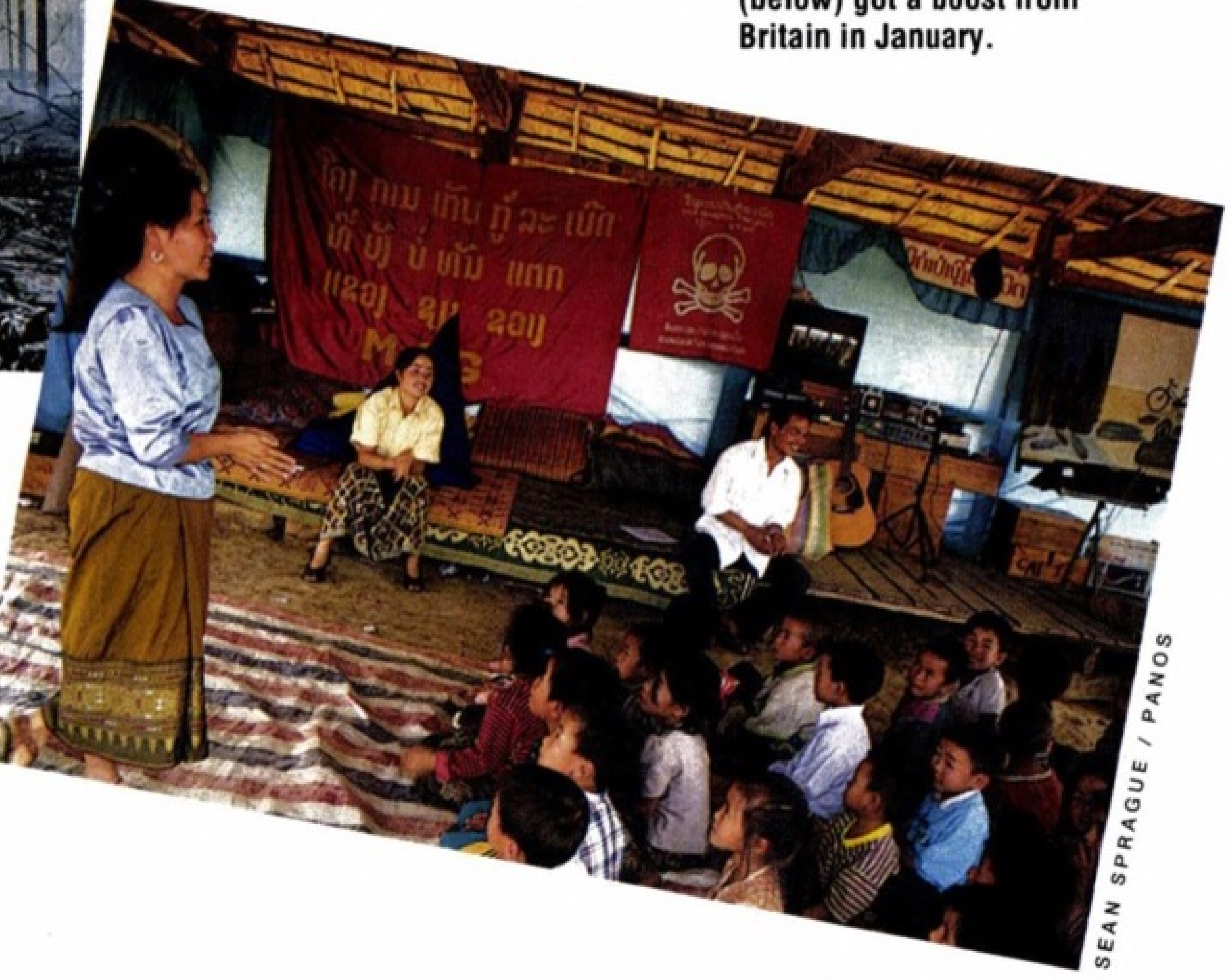
CAMBODIA Hun Sen and his ousted co-Prime Minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh jointly call a

MICHAEL HARVEY / PANOS

CHRIS STOWERS / PANOS

From left to right:
A year of changes: flood and fire were ill effects of climate disruption from Bangladesh (far left) to Brazil (centre) but there were changes for the good too. The ousting of Indonesia's dictator Suharto cleared the way for democratic elections (left) planned for 1999. Meanwhile the campaign to get rid of landmines in countries such as Laos (below) got a boost from Britain in January.

TRYGVE BØLSTAD / PANOS


SEAN SPRAGUE / PANOS

INDONESIA The agony, the ecstasy

IT WAS A YEAR OF TURMOIL tinged with hope for Indonesia. While suffering the consequences of an ever-deepening economic crisis, the Indonesians did at least get rid of their corrupt and hated dictator of 32 years: President Suharto.

The year began with Suharto, then still in power, getting a $43-billion 'rescue package' from the International Monetary Fund in a bid to halt the country's economic plunge. In exchange he agreed to dismantle the country's monopolies and family-owned businesses and relax his own iron grip on the economy. Suharto signed, but by March had breached the agreement, arguing that the painful reforms demanded were failing to remedy the situation.

Tearing down shopfronts – and a 32-year-old dictatorship.

CHRIS STOWERS / PANOS

By April the UN Development Programme was estimating that some 7.5 million Indonesians could face food shortages. Frustration among students, workers and the middle classes mounted as Suharto clung on to power. Thousands took to the streets in peaceful protests. But these protests gave way to riots and racist attacks, especially against ethnic Chinese. Hotels, factories and shopping centres were burned and looted, leaving a final death toll of 1,118. Many of the dead were from ethnic minorities.

Finally, President Suharto bowed to the pressure and stood down in May. Students, calling for reform and an end to 'corruption, collusion and nepotism', celebrated the change but were doubtful about the replacement, Vice-President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie.

By June nearly half of the country's 203-million population was reported to be living beneath the poverty line. Millions of children were being withdrawn from schools. Indonesians – desperate for food, angry at their loss of jobs and frightened at the rocketing inflation – continued to protest.

But there were the odd glimmers of hope that a better human-rights situation might prevail under President Habibie. The position on East Timor softened somewhat and in August Suharto's son-in-law Lieutenant-General Prabowo Subianto was sacked from the Army in the face of criminal charges relating to the kidnapping and torture of political activists.

Thousands more students took to the streets in September demanding that former President Suharto and his allies stand trial for crimes against the country during his long rule.

In October 8,000 students massed outside Indonesia's Parliament in the biggest public demonstration since President Habibie came to power, calling for an acceleration in democratic reforms. And Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of the leading light of Indonesia's 1960s independence struggle, Ahmed Sukarno, said she would be a candidate in what is expected to be Indonesia's first contested presidential election, promised for 1999. ■

ceasefire to end seven months of hostilities and open the way for elections.

YUGOSLAVIA Tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians gather to bury 24 villagers killed by Serb police in the province of Kosovo. Russia joins the US, Britain, Germany, France and Italy in backing an arms embargo against Yugoslavia to punish President Slobodan Milosevic for his repression of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

UGANDA Former dictator Idi Amin is banished from Died in Saudi Arabia to isolated Mecca after organizing a shipment of arms to northern Uganda.

CHINA Zhu Rongji is appointed as China's first new Prime Minister in ten years. He is expected to set about bringing in the most sweeping structural reorganization of China's inefficient government bureaucracies since Deng Xiaoping launched his reforms 20 years ago.

NEPAL Over 3,000 protesters march through Nepal's capital, Kathmandu, demanding an end to child labour in the country. The demonstration is seen as part of a global drive to highlight the state of the world's 250 million child workers.

ISRAEL Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is called on to abandon his policy of expanding Jewish settlements on Palestinian territory behind the 'Green Line' pre-1967 border. ***(See Box: Middle East, Page 39)***

CHILE General Augusto Pinochet – the ex-military dictator who had thousands of political opponents tortured and murdered – is sworn in as senator-for-life under the terms of a constitution he designed himself. As senator he will enjoy parliamentary immunity for life, despite opposition to the move in Parliament, in the courts and on the streets of Santiago. ***(See Box: International justice, Page 40)***

INDIA's first Hindu nationalist Government, a coalition of more than a dozen regional parties and several independent MPs led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), is sworn in. A BJP-led alliance won most of the seats – but fell short of a majority – in general elections in February.

SEYCHELLES Albert René and his Seychelles People's Progressive Front win the country's presidential and parliamentary elections.

WORLD Alarmed by the global rise in tuberculosis, the World Health Organization reports that 16 countries are threatened by major epidemics of the disease.

APRIL

ARMENIA Robert Kocharyan, an uncompromising Armenian nationalist, wins the second round of the country's presidential elections.

CHINA Beijing agrees to allow European Union envoys to spend a week in Tibet looking at the human-rights situation.

SUDAN An upsurge in the civil war between the Arab Muslim Government in the north and the African Christian rebel movement in the south displaces around 500,000 Sudanese.

MEXICO Julio Cesar Santiago Díaz, a retired army general serving as Chief of Staff of the Chiapas state police and head of the state's auxiliary police force, is arrested for standing by and doing nothing in December 1997 when a group of armed men massacred 45 unarmed peasants in the hillside hamlet of Acteal. This follows the arrest in January of 29 police officers who opened fire on anti-Government protesters in Chiapas.

WORLD UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan urges UN member states to curb arms sales and covert arms trafficking, end economic sanctions that harm civilians and to accept the Organization of African Unity's plan to cancel all debt for the poorest countries. He also urges tougher administration of refugee camps so that civilians cannot be used as shields for terrorists.

BURMA An Amnesty International report accuses the Burmese Army of torturing hundreds from the Shan ethnic minority and forcing at least 300,000 to flee their homes during the past two years. The Military Government sentences San San, a leading member of the country's democracy movement, to 25 years in prison for giving a BBC radio interview.

RWANDA The first 22 Hutus of more than 100,000 in prison in Rwanda accused of participating in the slaughter of over 500,000 Tutsis are executed by firing squad in public. The new Government dismisses international appeals for clemency.

GUATEMALA Two days after he presents a report on human-rights violations during the 36-year civil war, Guatemala's Bishop Juan Gerardi Conedara is battered to death.

PIERRE SEVAN / CAMERAPRESS

Rest in blood: mass murderer Pol Pot finally died, aged 73.

CAMBODIA Pol Pot (Saloth Sar), the former dictator of Cambodia and leader of the Khmer Rouge, dies of a heart-attack at the age of 73. During the 1970s he was responsible for the deaths by torture and starvation of 1.5 million Cambodians, over a quarter of the population, in his drive to impose his brand of Maoism.

WORLD The Multilateral Agreement on Investment, negotiated by the 29 members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in a bid to open up the world to free trade, is postponed. This is the direct result of a vigorous international campaign by action groups protesting that the MAI is a charter for multinationals which will further exploit the environment and the poor.

ISRAEL celebrates its 50th anniversary as an independent state.

IRELAND Northern Ireland's political parties, Catholic and Protestant, forge a momentous deal, the Good Friday Agreement, to try and end the province's long and violent civil conflict.

MAY

BRAZIL promises to conserve 25 million hectares of forest in the world's biggest forest-protection scheme. The World Bank and the World Wide Fund for Nature will police it. But in a small town 150 miles from Recife one of Brazil's most important indigenous leaders, Francisco de Assis Araujo, is shot dead.

WEATHER FROM HELL Fire, flood, ice, storm, drought...

THERE WAS REASON ENOUGH TO BE OBSESSED with the weather in 1998. It was diabolical. There were hurricanes in Central America, floods in China, ice-storms in Canada, drought-induced forest fires in Brazil and Indonesia, and even disease epidemics caused by changes in the weather in Kenya and Tanzania.

Some scientists said global warming and deforestation were chiefly to blame. Others held responsible El Niño, the Pacific current which causes a seesaw in atmospheric pressure.

Central America and the Caribbean saw the worst of it. Hurricane Georges hammered the coastlines of Haiti, Cuba and the Dominican Republic in September, claiming 380 lives in its wake, before sweeping through the Florida Keys and along the US's Gulf coast. But far more destructive was Hurricane Mitch which rampaged through Honduras and Nicaragua in October, claiming the lives of over 10,000 people, and making millions homeless. The West organized a $200-million emergency aid package. This compared with the $3.5 billion it had arranged a few weeks earlier to rescue a hedge fund tottering on Wall Street. Anti-debt campaigners called for loans to the countries devastated by Hurricane Mitch to be written off and France, Spain and Cuba complied.

Survivors of Hurricane Mitch, like this woman in Nicaragua, tried to rebuild their lives after the disaster that killed 10,000.

PAUL HOWELL / GAMMA LIAISON

Mexico experienced a different set of weather problems when its dry season was unduly prolonged. This caused the worst fires on record which killed 60 people and destroyed at least 240,000 hectares of rainforest. Deforestation had not helped.

Similarly, in Brazil ten million people suffered the effects of drought, made worse by government neglect of irrigation schemes and mismanagement of aid funds. Finally in September ecologists declared a 'red alert' as flames devouring farmland in the central Mato Grosso state started heading for the Xingu National Park, where 17 different indigenous groups live. Then the rains came.

The other side of the Pacific had its weather-born crises. In China high rainfall, exacerbated by deforestation and long-term neglect of flood control, saw the worst flooding of the Yangtze River in 40 years. By August, 13 million people had been forced to leave their homes and 250 million were affected.

In Bangladesh, meanwhile, seasonal flooding was far worse than usual, claiming the lives of 1,500 people and leaving thousands more without homes or livelihood. In the capital city, Dhaka, more than half of all buildings were under water. Severe food shortages and water-borne disease contributed significantly to the death toll. ■

Christian Aid
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Break
the
chains
of
debt

Making a chain to break the chain. More than 50,000 anti-debt campaigners hijacked the Birmingham G8 summit.

VANESSA BAIRD

INDIA/PAKISTAN India conducts its first nuclear test for 24 years, declaring that it now has the capacity to produce weapons. The three blasts, which provoke international condemnation, take place in Pokhran, about 60 miles south of the border with Pakistan. In response Pakistan detonates five nuclear devices in the Baluchistan desert near the Iranian border, claiming the tests are a necessary reaction to India's threat to national security. US and other Western governments censure both countries and impose sanctions.

INDONESIA President Suharto, Asia's longest-serving dictator stands down after ruling the country for 32 years. He is replaced by Vice-President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie. ***(See Box: Indonesia, Page 37)***

EUROPE A code of conduct limiting arms sales is agreed by European Union foreign ministers, to help prevent sales of arms to regimes which may use them for external aggression or internal repression. Pressure groups welcome the move, but question whether the largely voluntary code will have any practical effect.

AUSTRALIA Past injustices against the Aboriginal population are highlighted in the country's first 'Sorry Day', an event aimed at encouraging reconciliation between Australia's races. The event is largely boycotted by the Conservative Federal Government.

HONG KONG The territory's first elections under Chinese rule result in victory for pro-democracy parties. The elections lead to calls for more democracy in China itself.

WORLD 50,000 protesters from around the world make a human chain to call for the cancellation of Third World debt by the year 2000, at the annual summit of the richest nations, the G8, held in Birmingham, England.

CZECH REPUBLIC The town of Ustí nad Labem announces plans to ghettoize several hundred Roma people by building a five-metre wall around their apartment blocks, illustrating an upsurge in discrimination against the minority.

ERITREA/ETHIOPIA Conflict flares up between the two countries when Eritrea invades hundreds of square kilometres it claims in northern Ethiopia.

JUNE

WORLD On 1 June, hundreds of children from over 50 countries reach the International Labour Organization in Geneva at the end of a global march against child labour. The march has been going on in various cities around the world for six months.

YUGOSLAVIA The crisis in Kosovo comes closer to full-scale

Desperate appeal: ethnic Albanians in Kosovo became the latest victims of Serb oppression. By the year's end 300,000 had been forced to flee their homes.

STOP THE
SERBIAN
TERROR!

JIM COCHRANE / CAMERAPRESS

civil war as Serb artillery attacks ethnic Albanian villages, meeting increased resistance from the secessionist Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Over 10,000 ethnic Albanian refugees flee into neighbouring Albania. Sanctions imposed by Europe and the US fail to influence the Serbs, and there is discussion of possible NATO intervention.

EAST TIMOR Indonesian President BJ Habibie begins moves to end the 23-year guerrilla war in the illegally occupied territory of East Timor. The deal on offer includes a degree of autonomy for East Timor and the release of jailed rebel leader Xanana Gusmao in exchange for Timorese acceptance of Indonesian rule. Timorese leaders reject the deal and continue to call for a referendum on self-determination.

COLOMBIA Presidential elections are won by Andres Pastrana of the Conservative Party, on a manifesto of political reform, economic regeneration and an end to 34 years of civil conflict. Reports of atrocities by left- and right-wing terror groups continue, the violence often directed against civilians.

NIGERIA Military dictator General Sani Abacha dies unexpectedly of a heart attack, to be immediately replaced by army chief-of-staff General Abdulsalam Abubakar. Abacha's death gives rise to renewed calls for democracy and for the release of Moshood Abiola, winner of the annulled 1993 presidential elections. Abubakar opens a dialogue with opposition groups and releases nine political prisoners.

KOREA South Korea calls for an end to sanctions against its neighbour and moves to renew relations. North Korea rejects these political overtures, but is forced by its continuing famine to introduce free-market reforms in agriculture.

ARGENTINA Former dictator Jorge Rafael Videla is arrested and charged with having a role in the kidnapping and illegal adoption of children of torture victims during Argentina's 'dirty war' between 1976 and 1983.

AFGHANISTAN The Government closes down 100 private girls' schools. In Taliban-controlled areas of the country, education for girls over eight is forbidden and schools must only teach the Qur'an.

EUROPE/CARIBBEAN Following complaints to the World Trade Organization (WTO) by the US and major banana-producing countries in Latin America, the European Union is forced to reform its preferential tariff agreements on banana imports from former colonies, mostly in the Caribbean. Aid agencies warn that this could lead to a steep rise in poverty in such countries.

JULY

COLOMBIA Hopes of an end to the 34-year civil war are stimulated after the two largest rebel groups agree to peace talks with the Government, to start in August. Fifteen young women, kidnapped three weeks earlier by National Liberation Army guerrillas, are released unharmed after an international outcry.

D R CONGO A UN report claims forces loyal to Laurent Kabila massacred thousands of Rwandan Hutu refugees in 1996-97. The Kabila Government denies the charges, saying the killings were carried out by Rwandan Tutsis.

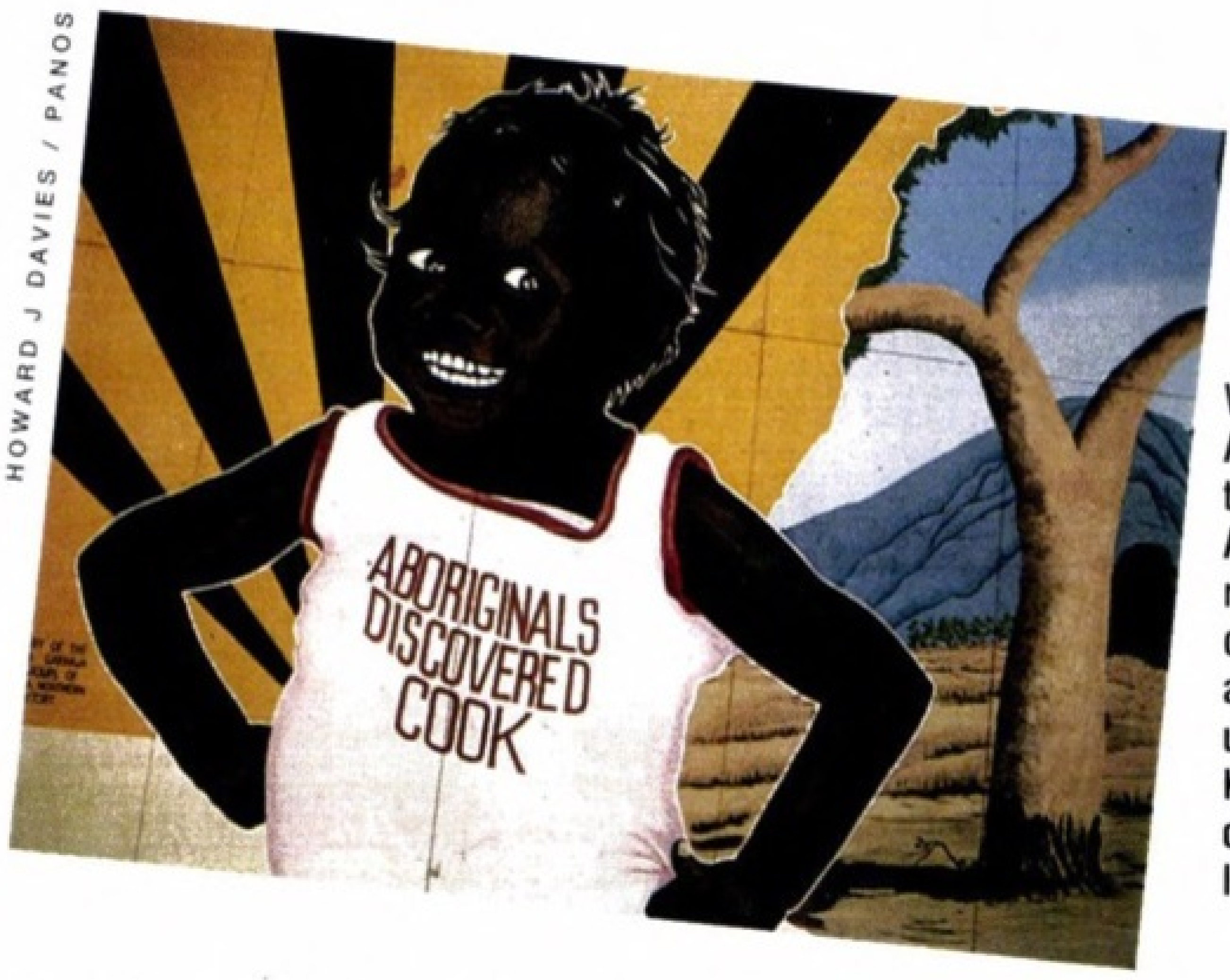
NIGERIA The sudden death of imprisoned democracy campaigner Chief Moshood Abiola threatens to upset the process of reform. Early suspicions that the chief was murdered are allayed by an autopsy conducted by experts from Europe and Canada. New leader Abdulsalam Abubakar announces plans to hand over to a civilian government on 29 May 1999, following elections in the first quarter of 1999. Pro-democracy groups are not convinced.

PALESTINE The UN votes overwhelmingly to upgrade Palestine's observer status. The new 'super-observer' post falls short of full UN membership, allowing Palestine to participate in General Assembly debate and co-sponsor resolutions on Middle East issues, but not giving voting rights. The resolution is passed against strong opposition from the US and Israel.

BHUTAN Reforms are agreed which drastically reduce the power of formerly absolute monarch King Wangchuck. The King will allow Parliament to choose the Cabinet and agrees that his continuance as monarch should rely on a regular vote of confidence.

AUSTRALIA A controversial bill severely restricting Aboriginal rights to claim title over ancestral lands is passed by Parliament. Campaigners describe the bill as 'racist', since it privileges the claims of (mainly white) farmers and mining companies over those of the indigenous population.

WEST PAPUA/INDONESIA 3,000 tribal people demanding independence from Indonesia occupy a government building in the town of Wamena. On the adjacent island of Biak seven die and several go missing when police open fire on pro-independence demonstrators. In the following days the bodies of 21 of the missing are washed ashore or turn up in fishing nets, all showing signs of torture or bullet holes.



HOWARD J DAVIES / PANOS

Wall painting in Adelaide features the struggle for Aboriginal land rights which centred on mass protests against a proposed uranium mine at Kaduku and controversial 'racist' legislation.

SUDAN More than one million people are threatened with starvation in the continuing famine, the spread and severity of which has taken aid agencies by surprise.

ECUADOR Presidential elections are won by Jamal Mahuad, former mayor of Quito.

BOLIVIA Former military dictator General Hugo Banzer is elected President after winning just 22 per cent of the vote. Bolivians are

MIDDLE EAST Processing peace... after a fashion

IN FITS AND STARTS THE MIDDLE EAST edged closer to peace, though the way remained full of hazards and pitfalls. Here are a few of the year's milestones:

March: Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu was called upon to abandon his policy of expanding Jewish settlements on Palestinian territory behind the 'Green Line', the pre-1967 border. The petition came from 1,500 reserve officers of Israel's army and police force, including distinguished former generals.

August: The Israeli Government finally accepted a US-brokered deal to withdraw from part of the West Bank. But trouble continued to brew around the issue of Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, with settlers determined to stay.

September: After months of deadlock, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat held summit talks at the White House. US President Clinton announced that there had been a 'significant narrowing of the gap' between the two leaders and that further meetings had been scheduled.

October: The two leaders signed a 'land for security' pact at Wye Plantation, Maryland. under which Israel would agree to withdraw from 13 per cent of the West Bank in exchange for greater protection from terrorism. But postponements and delays caused a rise in tension and several people were killed in eruptions of violence.

November: Israel's Cabinet unenthusiastically accepted the Wye Accord but set a series of preconditions for putting it into effect. A war of words raged between Arafat and Netanyahu, while Israel's foreign minister, Ariel Sharon, urged Jewish settlers to grab more West Bank land to keep it out of Palestinian hands. Meanwhile Israel suspended its commitment to give territory back to the Palestinians, saying that Yasser Arafat must first publicly retract a pledge to declare statehood next May.

Any deal the two leaders do eventually achieve is likely to remain hampered by their inability to satisfy opposition within their own camps – some of which is violently extreme. ■

Yasser Arafat, Binyamin Netanyahu, President Clinton and King Hussein of Jordan, forging a fragile peace at Wye, Maryland.

MARKEL /FRANK SPOONER

INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE Tyrants in the dock

THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE took a significant step forward in July when 160 countries voted to set up an International Criminal Court. This would try those accused of crimes against humanity, including genocide, torture and war crimes. Opposition came from the US but its attempts to ensure that no American citizen could be tried before the Court were defeated.

Wanted: General Augusto Pinochet, for crimes against humanity.

JUAN PABLO LIRA / DOCE / CAMERAPRESS

The final formulation of the Treaty was weaker than human-rights groups and some countries desired, but it helped create a climate of greater accountability.

During the course of the year there were several other attempts to bring perpetrators to justice.

◆ At the **United Nations' International Tribunal** in Arusha, Tanzania, the former Prime Minister of Rwanda, **Jean Kambanda**, became in May the first person to plead guilty on six counts of genocide and crimes against humanity. The charges related to the 1994 bloodbath in which a million people were killed within three months. In September he was imprisoned for life, becoming the first person to be sentenced under the 1948 Geneva Convention. The judges found that he had 'personally participated in the genocide' by distributing arms and presiding over meetings where the massacres were planned. A further 2,000 Rwandan prisoners also confessed to their involvement in the1994 massacre.

◆ At the first trial for genocide to open at the **UN War Crimes Tribunal** in The Hague in July, defendant **Milan Kovacevic** pleaded not guilty to charges of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity while running three detention centres in the Prijedor district of Bosnia. Several other cases arising from the war in former Yugoslavia were opened during the year. However, the US decision to suspend efforts by its troops in Bosnia to arrest **Radovan Karadzic** and **Ratko Mladic**, leaders of the Bosnian Serb army during the Bosnian war, was a setback for international justice, undermining the work of the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

◆ Former dictator of Chile General **Augusto Pinochet** was arrested during a trip to London in October. The arrest arose from an extradition order from Spain. Pinochet is wanted in connection with the murder and disappearances of over 3,000 civilians, both Chilean and foreign nationals, following Chile's 1973 military coup. His claim of diplomatic immunity from arrest – as head of state at the time of the killings and as a life-long senator now – was rejected by the British Law Lords.

Whatever the outcome of individual cases, 1998 delivered a strong message to those who abuse their power that even they cannot get away with murder. And for the families of the victims it's a long overdue recognition of the wrongs they have suffered. ■

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concerned that his return to power may lead to a renewal of the human-rights violations of his earlier rule in the 1970s.

TURKEY Human-rights campaigner Akin Birdal is jailed for one year after being convicted of 'provoking hatred' in a speech in which he called for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish conflict.

PERU Oil giants Shell and Mobil pull out of a planned project to develop the Camisea gas field in the Amazon rainforest. The project, set to cost $40 million, was the cause of serious concern among environmental groups, but the pull-out appears to have been for financial reasons.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA A massive tidal wave kills around 2,000 people on the north-west coast of the island. Survivors are threatened by disease spread by decomposing corpses which cannot be buried fast enough in the hot climate.

ALGERIA A panel of international 'information gatherers' are allowed into the country to report on recent massacres. The Algerian authorities consistently blame all atrocities on Islamic fundamentalists but human-rights organizations report that the Government itself is implicated in some of the massacres.

ANGOLA Suspected Unita rebels killed 215 people at a village in Angola's mining area.

GUINEA-BISSAU A ceasefire is announced between the Government and rebel troops after nearly two months of civil war.

WORLD 160 countries vote to approve a treaty setting up an International Criminal Court. ***(See Box: International justice, this page)***

SOUTH AFRICA 21,000 witnesses later, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings come to an end. While exposing gruesome details of the apartheid regime, the Commission is criticized for failing to get leaders of the apartheid regime, especially former President PW Botha, to admit responsibility for abuses.

AUGUST

WORLD UN disarmament negotiators say they have reached an agreement to work towards a ban on the production of weapons-grade nuclear material, but the ban itself may take several years to finalize. The US remains the world's largest arms exporter, selling $15.2 billion worth of arms and controlling 44 per cent of the world market.

D R CONGO Rwandan mercenaries and part of the Army rebel against President Laurent Kabila, whom they helped bring to power in 1997. ***(See Box: Great Lakes, facing page)***

IRAN Iranians wounded by chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq war complain to international bodies against the weapons' users and suppliers, including Britain and other Western governments, demanding compensation for their injuries.

AFGHANISTAN In one of the worst atrocities of the long civil war, Taliban troops execute 2,000-5,000 civilians when they capture the Northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif. The minority Hazara community who, unlike the Taliban, are Shia rather than Sunni Muslims, are specifically targeted.

KENYA/TANZANIA Simultaneous bomb attacks strike the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. Over 200 people are killed and 4,000 injured in the attacks, which appear to have been carried out by an Islamic terror group. The US suspects links to Osama bin Laden, a Saudi millionaire in exile in Afghanistan, who is known to have declared a 'holy war' against America.

SUDAN/AFGHANISTAN The US reacts to the Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam embassy bombings by launching missile attacks on three suspected terrorist bases in Afghanistan and what it claims is a chemical-weapons factory in Sudan. No evidence is found to link the Khartoum pharmaceutical factory with chemical weapons or to Osama bin Laden.

YUGOSLAVIA The humanitarian situation worsens in Kosovo – up to 200,000 people are displaced and Amnesty International reports increasing human-rights violations against the ethnic Albanian population.

KENYA RED CROSS
ACTION TEAM
ST JOHN
AMBULANCE
FIRST AID

Over 200 people were killed in an attack on the US Embassy in Nairobi. A simultaneous attack took place in Dar-es-Salaam.

MALCOLM LINTON / GAMMA LIAISON

INDIA Fifty children, aged between seven and thirteen, launch a hunger strike in New Delhi in protest at being forced to work as bonded labourers in carpet and fireworks factories.

PARAGUAY Raul Cubas Grau is inaugurated as President and almost immediately faces the possibility of impeachment for his decision to release jailed former General Lino Oviedo, who was imprisoned following a coup attempt in 1996.

BURMA Opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi ends a 12-day protest in a mini-van on the outskirts of Rangoon, where she had been stopped by troops after again attempting to leave the city to meet supporters. The protest is ended on the grounds of her ill health. Diplomats report that economic and social problems in Burma may be causing a split within the military Government.

PAKISTAN Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif introduces a bill to replace the country's legal code with Sharia, or Islamic justice. Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto stands trial on corruption charges, accused of taking millions of dollars in bribes.

INDONESIA Human-rights commissioners in Aceh unearth the remains of over 100 people believed to have been protesting against exploitation and pollution by oil companies, notably Mobil, between 1980 and 1993.

CHAD/CAMEROON Plans for an oil pipeline are put on hold by the World Bank due to environmental fears.

TURKEY The rebel Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) announces a unilateral ceasefire, but its offer of negotiations to end the 14-year war is rejected by the Government.

CANADA Officials sign a treaty with the Native American Nisga'a tribe settling its land claims in British Columbia – a possible precedent for many other claims, covering most of the province.

SEPTEMBER

ALGERIA President Lamine Zeroual announces that he is to step down 18 months before the end of his five-year term in office. The resignation of Zeroual, a moderate who believes in accommodating Islamists rather than crushing them, undermines confidence in Algeria's ability to end its civil war. A successor is to be elected next February.

MEXICO The Government's bank-rescue programme to convert $65 billion in bad bank loans into public debt and open Mexico's banks to unlimited foreign participation faces strong popular opposition.

NIGERIA New military leader, General Abubakar, continues his drive for a more democratic country by freeing 20 Ogoni minority activists who were imprisoned along with Ken Saro-Wiwa.

RUSSIA The country's economic and political crisis deepens as the rouble collapses.The Duma clashes with Yeltsin and refuses for the second time his choice of Viktor Chernomyrdin as Prime Minister.

D SANSONI / PANOS

Mahathir Mohamad's increasingly dictatorial stance prompted international concern over human-rights abuses.

IRAQ In an historic event for both sides, leaders of two feuding Kurdish factions agree to a US-brokered accord stating they will share power in northern Iraq. Massoud Barzani of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and Jalal Talabani of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, whose bitter rivalry has frequently resulted in fighting, shake hands for the first time since 1994 and agree to share power and economic resources.

LESOTHO Hundreds of South African troops cross the border after growing unrest and looting in the capital Maseru.

BOLIVIA The World Bank, the IMF and the Inter-American Development Bank grant Bolivia $760 million in nominal debt-service relief.

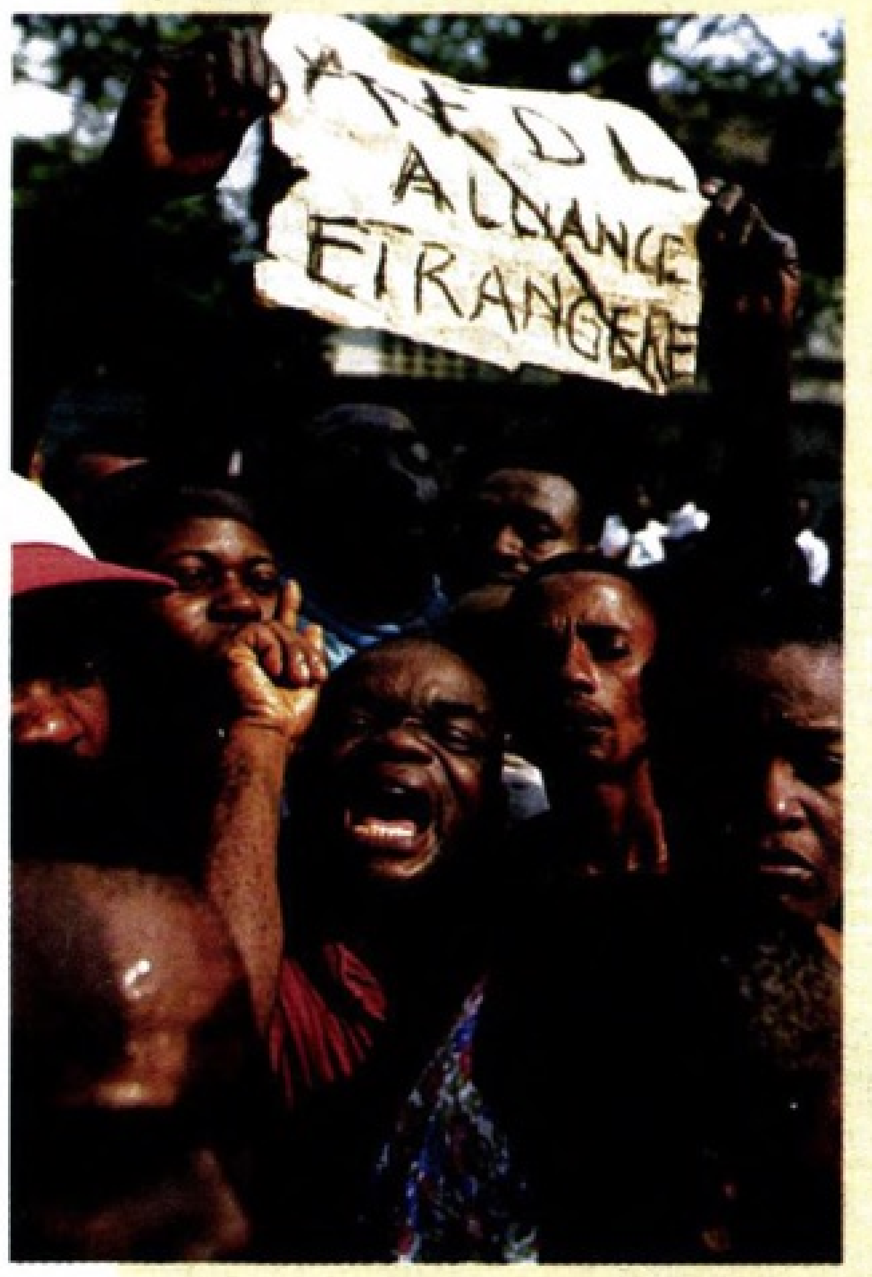
MALAYSIA Anwar Ibrahim, the former Deputy Prime Minister recently sacked by leader Mahathir Mohamad, appears in court accused of corruption and sexual misconduct. His face is badly bruised, apparently from a beating while in detention. Mr Anwar was arrested after leading a big anti-Government demonstration. Rallies and

Kurdish prospects improved when two feuding factions in northern Iraq made peace in September.

GAVIN SMITH / CAMERAPRESS

GREAT LAKES The horror, the horror

IT HAS ALL THE HALLMARKS of an international nightmare in the making. Six neighbouring countries have become embroiled in the Democratic Republic of Congo's civil conflict, which threatens to suck the entire region into all-out war.



Anti-Kabila demonstrators in Kinshasa protested as foreign forces came to the President's aid.

GUIDU NOEL / FRANK SPOONER

Thousands have been massacred and many others abducted, tortured, raped or unlawfully detained. And according to Amnesty International all parties in the conflict are responsible for human-rights violations and waging war against unarmed civilians.

The recent trouble began in August when Rwandan mercenaries and part of the Congolese Army rebelled against President Laurent Kabila, whom they helped bring to power in 1997. Calling themselves the 'Congolese Movement for Democracy', the rebels took over large areas of the country before being beaten back.

Then neighbouring countries got involved. Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi showed support for the rebels while Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia sent troops to back Kabila. Chad and, reportedly, Sudan also supported Kabila.

Attempts at a peace summit between African leaders and rebel leaders ended in acrimony because the agreement being proposed had been drawn up predominantly by Kabila's allies – Angola, Zimbawe and Namibia – with no input from the rebels.

As the fighting continued President Kabila expressly ordered the mass killing of Tutsis in western and eastern Congo. Civilians were instructed to kill those suspected of being sympathetic to the armed opposition, describing the enemy as 'a virus, a mosquito and filth which must be crushed'. Amnesty International documented reports of mass graves near the capital, Kinshasa, containing as many as 500 bodies.

By September the conflict was threatening to spill over into neighbouring Uganda, where a series of bomb attacks was believed to have been carried out under the orders of Congolese President Kabila as punishment for Uganda's support of the rebels.

By the year-end, Amnesty International was urging all governments to stop supplying weapons and other types of military, security and police equipment to both sides of the conflict. In December there was a glimmer of hope when, at a summit in Paris, African leaders involved in the war agreed a cease-fire in principle. But rebel leaders later said the accord had no validity and observers remained doubtful and fearful. ■

DISARMING IRAQ To the brink and back again... and again

THE GREAT GAME CONTINUED: Saddam Hussein vs The West. Muscles flexed – then relaxed. Then flexed again. But for the people of Iraq, trying to survive extreme shortages of food and medicine, the sabre-rattling was no game.

The year began with Iraq refusing to allow weapons inspectors to search Saddam Hussein's presidential palaces and the US responding by proposing an intensive bombing campaign against Iraq. Russia opposed military action, but failed to influence the hawks. Meanwhile, the UN and other agencies working in Iraq reported that food and medical shortages had led to over a million deaths, giving greater impetus to the humanitarian call for lifting sanctions.

As the US and its allies prepared for what seemed likely to become another Gulf war, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan managed to get an eleventh-hour accord with Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz. The agreement permitted 'immediate, unrestricted and unconditional access to the Unscom weapons inspectors to all suspect sites in Iraq'. An improved 'oil-for-food' deal was also agreed allowing Iraq to sell $5.3 billion worth of oil over the next six months to buy food and other humanitarian supplies in return.

But by June a report by UN weapons inspectors claimed that traces of VX nerve gas had been found on an Iraqi warhead. Then in August Tariq Aziz refused to allow any more UN inspections of suspected weapons sites until sanctions against the country were lifted. Sanctions remained. Denis Halliday, the UN's oil-for-food co-ordinator for Iraq, resigned, saying that sanctions were a bankrupt concept that hurt the people of Iraq but not its Government.

MOHAMED ANSAR / CAMERAPRESS

Plight of the people: suffering under shortages of food and medicine, Iraqis continued to be pawns in the game.

Finally, in November, Iraq went to the brink again, defying the US and its allies by saying that it would refuse to co-operate with the United Nations weapon inspectors even under the threat of military action. Again the US and its allies prepared for air strikes unless President Saddam Hussein permitted unconditional weapons inspections. Again, Saddam Hussein backed down at the last minute and the air strikes were aborted. But the threat remains and still the people of Iraq suffer under the combined shadow of Saddam, sanctions and bombs. ■

protests continue, and concerns are raised internationally about the rule of law under Mahathir Mohamad.

BRAZIL Although Brazil has staved off the economic problems it feared for some time, the effects of the international financial crisis finally hit as shares plunge on the country's stock market.

OCTOBER

CENTRAL AMERICA The devastating Hurricane Mitch claims 10,000 lives, mainly in Honduras and Nicaragua. ***(See Box: Weather from hell, Page 38)***

INDIA Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee responds to the challenge from neighbour and arch-rival, Pakistan, and says that his country too is prepared to sign a global treaty to ban nuclear testing within the coming year.

ALBANIA Pandeli Majko, aged 30, becomes Europe's youngest Prime Minister as he is sworn in as Albania's new Socialist leader.

CHILE General Augusto Pinochet, the former Chilean dictator is arrested in London following an extradition request from Spain. ***(See Box: International justice, Page 40)***

ANGOLA Heavy fighting plunges much of northern Angola into a state of undeclared war as Government forces go on the offensive against their old enemy the Unita rebel movement. According to the UN, blame for the renewed conflict lies firmly with Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, who has refused to comply fully with the Lusaka Peace Accord ever since its inception four years ago.

IRAN appoints its first female diplomat since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, who will be posted to the UN in New York.

CUBA A record 157 countries vote in the United Nations General Assembly, calling for an end to Washington's embargo against Cuba.

Home at last for exiled Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka.

ROGER TILLBERG / CAMERAPRESS

NIGERIA Responding to his country's new freedoms, Wole Soyinka, a leading dissident and Nobel Prize-winning author, returns home, ending four years of self-imposed exile.

PERU/ECUADOR A peace treaty is signed that ends the border dispute which has erupted into war three times during the past 60 years.

YUGOSLAVIA US envoy Richard Holbrooke reaches a political deal with Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, that averts immediate NATO air strikes. Milosevic agrees to let unarmed foreign monitors observe the withdrawal of Serb forces from Kosovo, and to begin political talks to give the province greater autonomy.

SRI LANKA More than 700 Sri Lankan soldiers and Tamil Tigers are killed in fighting for a strategically important highway town.

ISRAEL/PALESTINE Three-way talks between Binyamin Netanyahu, Yasser Arafat and President Clinton result in the Wye Accord, which it is hoped will be a major step forward for the Middle East Peace Process. ***(See Box: Middle East, Page 39)***

CHINA/TAIWAN The first talks in five years are held.

NOVEMBER

WORLD At the Climate Change Convention in Buenos Aires, President Clinton signs the Kyoto Protocol which will legally bind the developed world to reducing greenhouse gases. Time is running out. Findings from the Hadley Centre for Climate Change indicate that parts of the Amazon will turn into desert by the year 2050.

BERMUDA The Progressive Labour Party sweeps to victory in the island's general elections, ending the Conservatives' 30-year rule.

BRAZIL A tough austerity package from the IMF is signed in exchange for a rescue deal worth $60 billion from the International Monetary Fund.

CHINA Grassroots protest is said to be on the increase in China in the light of national money troubles. Nearly 200 victims of a financial swindle march through Beijing in protest – part of a national trend towards direct political action.

CHILE Mireya Perez, a member of Chile's *carabineros* whose main experience is overseeing the care of abused children and adults, is made the country's first female general.

CAMBODIA A four-month deadlock is resolved when rival political parties agree to form a coalition government. Hun Sen will be the

Peaceful times in the Amazon: Peru and Ecuador ended a 60-year-old conflict when they signed a border treaty in October.

ALISON WRIGHT / PANOS

sole Prime Minister and Prince Norodom Ranariddh will be President of the National Assembly.

WORLD The AIDS epidemic is out of control in many parts of the world, infecting 11 people every minute and killing 2.5 million people last year, a UN report says. According to South Africa's health ministry, 20 per cent of the country's working population could be contaminated by 2000 and overall life expectancy could fall from 68 to 48 within the next 10 years. In Botswana and Zimbabwe, as many as one in four adults is reported to be infected with HIV. The 21 countries with the highest infection rates are all in Africa.

KURDS Abdullah Ocalan, leader of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), is arrested in Italy, which sparks off a political row with Turkey by refusing to extradite him to face terrorism charges.

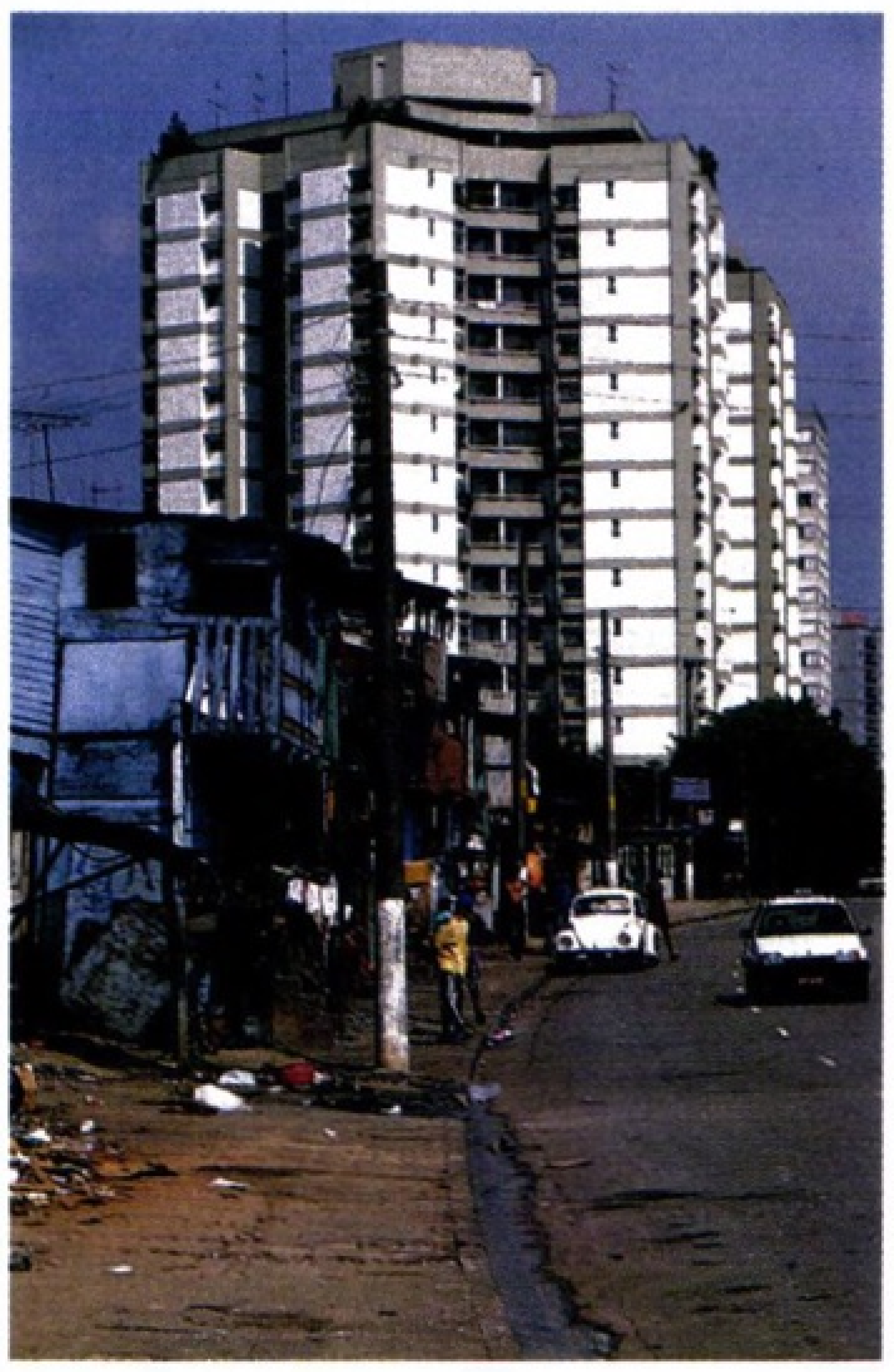
WESTERN SAHARA UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan visits the region to add impetus to the peace process, which has been stalled for much of the year by delaying tactics of the Moroccan Government. The referendum on Saharawi self-determination, originally planned for the end of 1998, is postponed to December 1999.

DECEMBER

WORLD In an explicit and damning statement the World Bank criticizes its sister institution, the International Monetary Fund and the US for misjudging the financial crisis which began in Asia 18 months ago and making it worse by advocating damaging solutions. In its first comprehensive history of the crisis the World Bank predicts that although even the worst-hit nations will probably stabilize by 1999, and grow by 2000, the economic crises had been prolonged and there is 'still a substantial risk that the world economy will plunge into recession in 1999'. World Bank views as the key misjudgement the IMF decision to press Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea to raise interest rates to stabilize their taxes. While these efforts were intended to restore investor confidence in the region, the plan backfired, creating the far greater disaster which swept from Asia through to Russia and Latin America.

BRAZIL The trial of 10 police officers accused of murdering 21 residents of a Rio shantytown ends in disappointment for human-rights observers when all the defendants are acquitted due to 'lack of evidence'.

ZIMBABWE President Robert Mugabe bans trade-union strikes and threatens action against union leaders, as social and political unrest mounts.


JON SPAULL / PANOS

Poor justice: police violence was a burning issue for Brazil's shantytown-dwellers. Officers in Rio were acquitted of murdering 21, to the dismay of human-rights observers.

SOMALIA The threat of famine hangs over the southern part of the country, which has again been plunged into civil war. As many as 300,000 people are at imminent risk, according to the UN Food Programme.

SUDAN Two Roman Catholic priests, Hillary Boma and Lina Tujano, may face crucifixion. The two are charged with setting off around 12 bombs in Sudan's capital, Khartoum, in June, as part of a plot to disrupt official celebrations marking the 1989 coup.

PHILIPPINES Imelda Marcos launches a legal battle to claim $13 billion of assets allegedly entrusted by her late husband to several cronies.

ASIA Figures published by the Basel-based Bank for International Settlements reveal that international bank lending to Asian countries fell by $51 billion, or 14 per cent, in the first half of 1998, the biggest decline in a decade. This massive withdrawal of funds had catastrophic effects on Asian economies, especially in Thailand and South Korea.

NIGERIA The country's first trial on the road to democracy begins with local elections.

CHINA In a bid to crush the fledgling China Democracy Party, dissident and founding member Wang Youcai is arrested and charged with 'subversion of state power'.

WORLD The 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is celebrated.

1998 AWARDS The Alternative Nobel Prizes

THE RIGHT LIVELIHOOD AWARD – also known as the Alternative Nobel Prize – recognized the work of some outstanding campaigners, activists and academics in 1998.

For nearly 20 years the **International Baby Food Action Network** (IBFAN) group has effectively campaigned for the rights of mothers to choose to breastfeed their babies, in the full knowledge of the health benefits of breastmilk and free from the commercial pressure and misinformation with which companies promote breastmilk substitutes.

American academic **Samuel Epstein** has for many years wedded scholarship with humanity in his tireless efforts to stress the responsibility of environmental pollution for much avoidable cancer and in campaigning for its phasing out. Epstein and the **Cancer Prevention Coalition** which he founded put pressure on both governments and corporations to take responsibility for product safety and environmental protection.

In Chile **Juan Pablo Orrego** and his organization, the **Grupo de Acción por el Biobío** struggled to prevent the ecological destruction of the country's Biobío River valley, threatened by a string of massive dams. The group took the debate about the fundamental issues of sustainable development to the heart of Chilean society and in so doing successfully challenged the hydroelectric monopoly and the dam builders. The group was instrumental in obtaining reform of government policy.

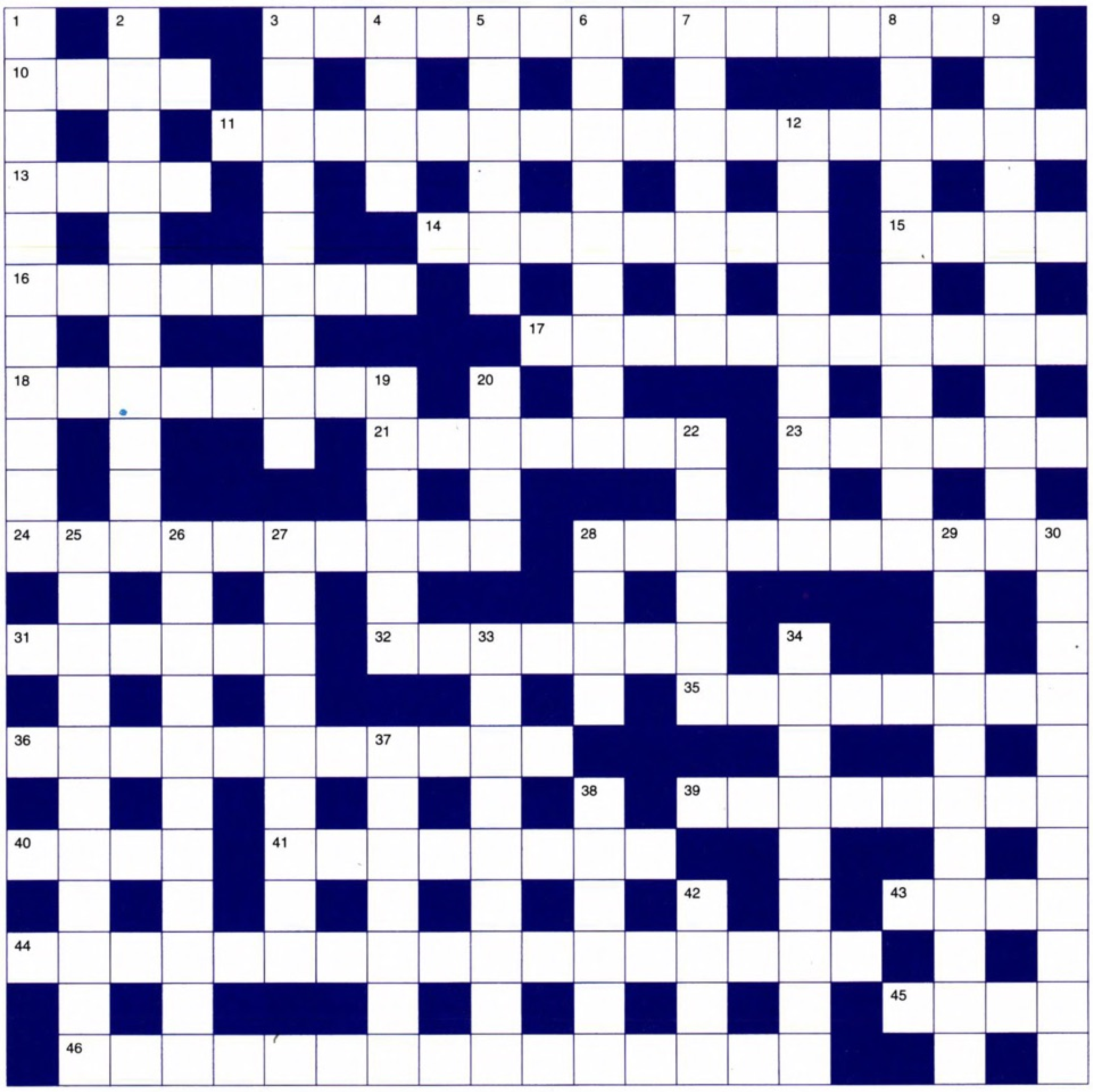
War and 'ethnic cleansing' in the Balkans have appalled the world in recent years. The task of building peace, justice and ethnic harmony in these war-torn societies was nowhere undertaken with more skill, vision and commitment than by **Katarina Kruhonja** and **Vesna Terselic** and by the peace movements they inspired in Croatia. **The Croatian Anti-War Campaign (ARK)**, largely founded by **Vesna Terselic** in 1991, is the peace movement with the strongest and most active role in emerging civil society in Croatia. It brings together a large number of organizations concerned with peace work and social reconstruction. One of these is the **Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights** founded by physician **Katarina Kruhonja**.

For further information about the winners and their organizations contact:
The Right Livelihood Award Foundation, PO Box 15072,
S-10465 Stockholm, Sweden.
Tel (+8) 7020338. E-mail:
info@rightlivelihood.se ■

MATS DJURBERG
INGEBORG LIPPMAN / UNICEF

Clockwise from top left: Croatian peace activist Katarina Kruhonja; US health campaigner Samuel Epstein; the Ibfan campaign has helped millions of women around the world; Chilean ecologist Juan Pablo Orrego.

The **Jumbo NI** Crossword **No. 29 by Axe**



QUICK

Across

3 Game of verbal/aural message distortion (7,8)
10 Russian city which gives its name to the geological period between the Carboniferous and Triassic (4)
11 Strip of water separating Europe and Africa (6,2,9)
13 Sea eagle (4)
14 Citizen of South American country (8)
15 Native American tribe of Canada, dependent on 16 (4)
16 They are American reindeer (8)
17 Empty, without life (11)
18 Practised by the Bedouin, among others (8)
21 Describes the lowest parts of the ocean floor (7)
23 Range and peak of SW Tibet, sacred to Buddhists and Hindus (6)
24 Relating to the fiercely independent peoples of northern Sumatra (10)
28 Tearful, weepy (10)
31 Largest island in the Bahamas: also Cycladean island dedicated to Dionysius (6)
32 Former kingdom of Spain comprising the Iberian heartland (7)
35 16th Book of the Old Testament (King James version) (8)
36 Small fruits – ingredients of pies and muffins (11)
39 Gas turbine-driven passenger aircraft (3,5)
40 Bantu people traditionally living in NE Natal (4)
41 Verve, get-up-and-go (8)
43 Serpents of various kinds – vipers, cobras – from the Greek (4)
44 Rock of Gibraltar and Mount Acho (classical Calpe and Abyla) (7,2,8)
45 Indian fried bread (4)
46 Gravity-defying illusion (6,4,5)

Down

1 English-speaking part of North America in the 18th Century, near the Great Lakes (5,6)
2 Mineral extraction plant – a source for steel production (4,3,4)
3 Independence-seeking region of NE Spain (9)
4 Islamic leader or teacher (4)
5 17th Book of the Old Testament (King James version) (6)
6 Emissions, pollutants (9)
7 Citizen of the western half of Hispaniola (8)
8 The embracing of wide-sweeping attitudes or tastes (11)
9 Domestic pets thought to have been once wild in India (7,4)
12 Plunderer, despoiler (9)
19 Cassava plant of South America (6)
20 France's third city, on the confluence of the Rhone and Saone Rivers (4)
22 Plant of fungus/alga symbiosis (6)
25 Waterway linking the Atlantic to the Mediterranean in southern France (5,2,4)
26 Animal-powered transport (5-6)
27 Londoner living north of the Thames and east of the City (4-5)
28 Alternative spelling of Irish county Laois or Laoise, formerly Queen's County (4)
29 In the style of the legendary Scottish poet, or James Macpherson's translations from the Gaelic (11)
30 Relating to the sacraments of the Last Supper (11)
33 The Pyroscaphe is reputed to be the prototype, paddle-driven ——, in 1783 (9)
34 Australian tree of the Flindersia genus, named because of its light colouring (5,4)
37 Bitterness, acrimony (7)
38 Wit, liveliness (6)
42 Sacred mountain of Japan (4)

CRYPTIC

Across

3 Confusing communications from Beijing? (7,8)
10 Urals city can be reached by short wave, perhaps (4)
11 The Mediterranean Rock Sound? (6,2,9)
13 Irish river bird (4)
14 South American was formerly incarcerated with the first four singled out... (8)
15 ...but North American is up here without the king or the normal means of propulsion! (4)
16 Hector's, so it's said, following vehicle from which I track the deer (8)
17 Deserted monk, for example, on duty, is trapped in dune drift... (11)
18 ...drift being the key word for this lifestyle! (8)
21 This describes the lowest point for the sailor: laying back, gin-dazed, gone, while 33 trapped (7)
23 Sacred Himalayan peak, K, alas, claims one (6)
24 Make hence to Asian outside – a northern Sumatran type (10)
28 Sad as the French cry in and about broken homes (10)
31 Doctor No doing the rounds in a southern Aegean island... (6)
32 ...but actors lie low in Spain... (7)
35 ...the book's main characters (he and hero) not returning or getting further involved (8)
36 Plants for making rubber lie to the south-east, vaguely (11)
39 Black ship of the skies (3,5)
40 Picture, for instance, the African people (4)
41 Push to go? (8)
43 Footnote following a first study of snakes (4)
44 The end of the world for the guardians of 11? (7,2,8)
45 Jaipuri's ingredients accompany the curry... (4)
46 ...kir, rice, nan dip – to make up sub-continental magic (6,4,5)

Down

1 Superior bordered land which is modern-day Ontario (5,6)
2 Where to explore the bedrock of Heavy Metal? (4,3,4)
3 In Spain I thought Cockney said 'pet only here' (9)
4 I am the first person to be leader (4)
5 Book the rest unhappily followed 35 immediately, but not to a tee (6)
6 Wastes notes on articulate point (9)
7 New Siamese conundrum over Dr Paisley evokes the character of the Caribbean... (7)
8 ...where Catholicism vote includes approximately a thousand at its base, and chemical giants somewhere in between... (11)
9 ...but Thai whips point to domestic favourites (7,4)
12 Looter directed pillage at the queen (9)
19 Meal he gave to the International Olympic Committee (6)
20 Stocking needs adjusting when leaving the northern French city (4)
22 Plant given to sick children without the doctor being involved (6)
25 Unclad maid one makes out in the French channel... (5,2,4)
26 ...barges past here – driven by some animal urge (5-6)
27 3d's Londoner heard – 'e's raw! (4-5)
28 Distressed exile at last departs Irish county... (4)
29 ...in the fashion of the Gaelic poet from Queen's and Oasis' compilations (11)
30 Epicure blends (no pre-mixing) fish first (integral), then bread and wine, symbolic of supper (11)
33 Fruit of flower vapours rising to the top of the vessel (9)
34 Caucasian hardwood? (5,4)
37 Resentment managed to reduce company size on old city site (7)
38 French spirit has wit (6)
42 Manchu jihad had gone from the Japanese peak (4)

LAST MONTH'S SOLUTION

W	H	I	T	E	R	H	I	N	O	C	E	R	O	S
E	■	D	■	A	■	O	■	A	■	A	■	E	■	U
A	B	Y	S	S	A	L	■	N	E	V	A	D	A	N
T	■	L	■	T	■	I	■	J	■	A	■	F	■	S
H	U	L	L	■	B	E	N	I	N	■	K	I	T	E
E	■	I	■	J	■	S	■	N	■	A	■	S	■	T
R	E	C	O	U	N	T	■	G	O	D	T	H	A	B
F	■	■	■	N	■	■	■	■	■	E	■	■	■	O
O	C	C	I	T	A	N	■	V	A	N	U	A	T	U
R	■	R	■	A	■	A	■	E	■	A	■	L	■	L
E	R	O	S	■	S	I	E	N	A	■	A	L	O	E
C	■	S	■	R	■	R	■	D	■	E	■	U	■	V
A	K	I	H	I	T	O	■	O	C	T	A	V	I	A
S	■	E	■	C	■	B	■	M	■	A	■	I	■	R
T	H	R	E	E	M	I	L	E	I	S	L	A	N	D

Reviews

BEST of the year

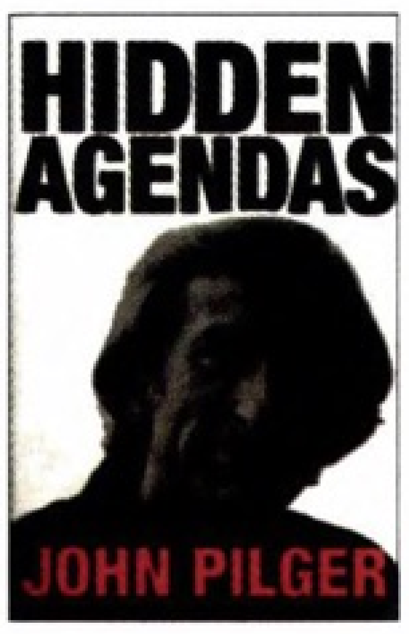
BEST music of the year

The stars of 1998, as far as music is concerned, have been the plethora of magnificent Cuban albums to hit the shops. But one album soared above the rest. The CD that so many listeners failed to wrench from their machines was **Buena Vista Social Club**'s self-titled album (*World Circuit WCD 050*). One listening was all it took to be instantly persuaded to sign up for life. Featuring Ibrahim Ferrer, Rubén González and friends (including visionary US guitarist Ry Cooder), the Social Club partied their collective way through every permutation that the salsa permits. Addictive. (*Reviewed in **NI 307***)

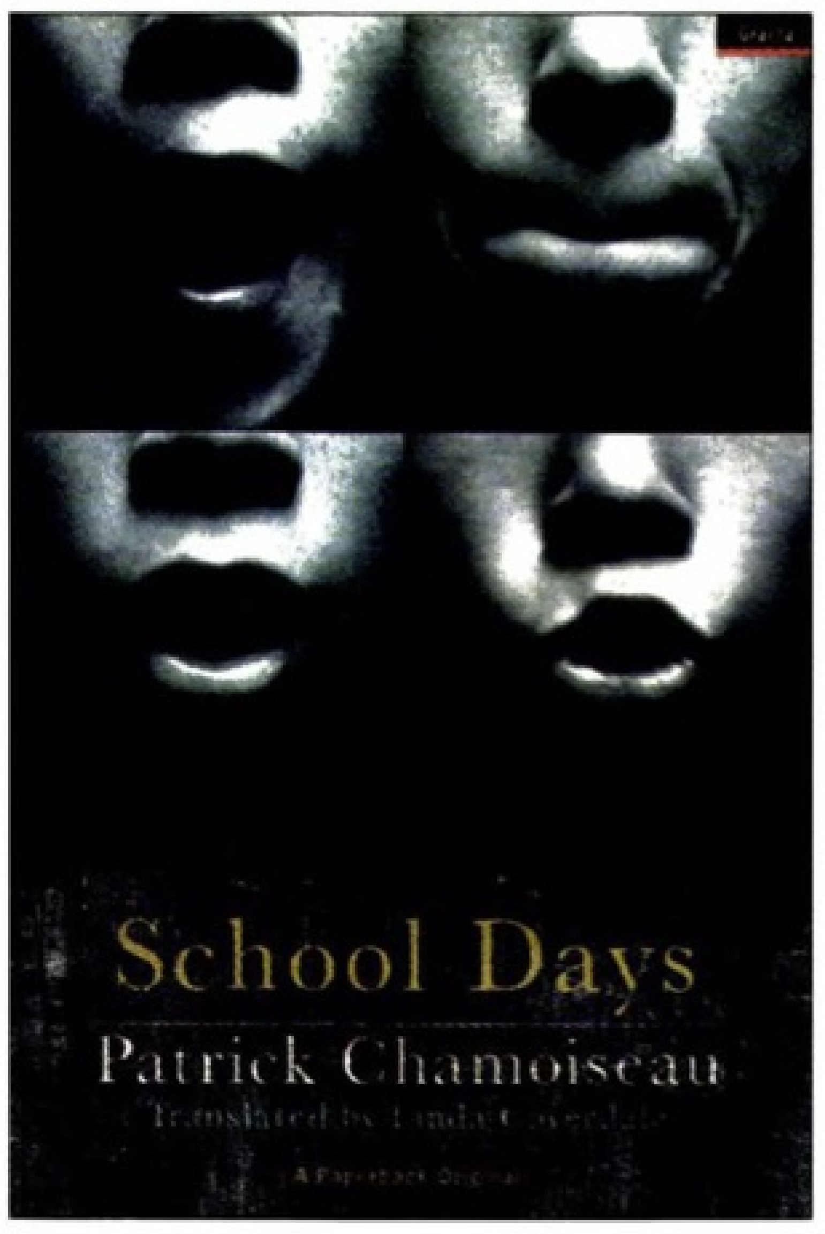
RY COODER
BUENA VISTA SOCIAL CLUB

BEST books of the year

What galls the directors of New World Order Plc is that **John Pilger** listens to what they say and watches what they do and then has the audacity to compare the two. **Hidden Agendas** demonstrated (*Vintage, ISBN 0099-41512*) ordinary people's determination to resist oppression – from the democracy movement in Burma to the Liverpool dockers, the freedom fighters of East Timor to the shanty towns of South Africa's Eastern Cape. The latest wonderful, incisive addition to the Pilger canon of committed journalism. (*Reviewed in **NI 302***)

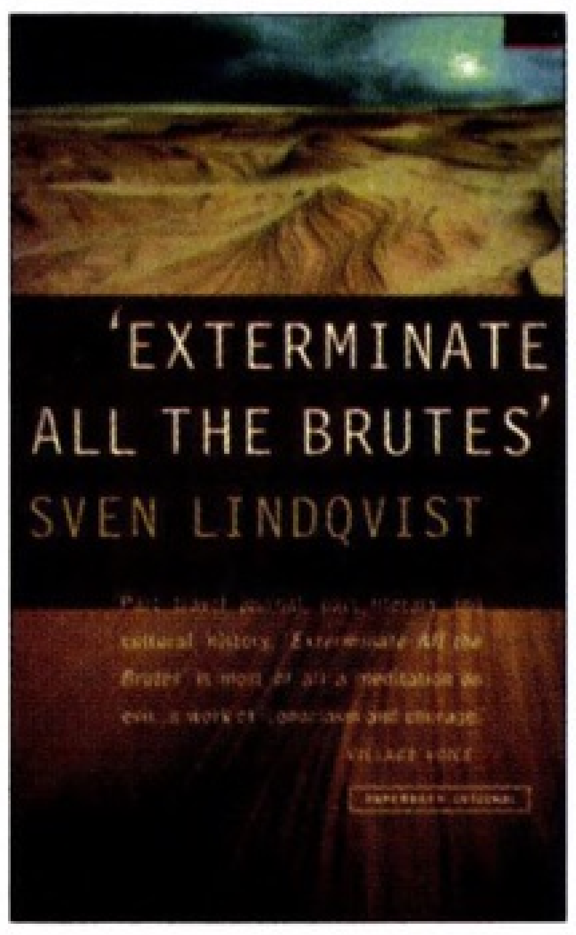


Meanwhile **School Days** by **Patrick Chamoiseau**, translated by Linda Coverdale (*Granta Books ISBN 1 86207 086 5*) was a rare creation. At once a memoir, an essay and a fable, it folded the merits of all three genres into writing of such dexterity and lightness that the pages flew by. Telling the story of a little black boy – the young Chamoiseau – and his thirst to enter the world of reading and writing, it revealed the sad and absurd attempts of his teacher to colonize his mind. For all the familiarity of its themes, a remarkable, fresh little book. (*Reviewed in **NI 303***)



Also quite exceptional was **Sven Lindqvist**'s **'Exterminate all the brutes'** (*Granta Books ISBN 1-86207-017-2*). Taking as its starting point the Joseph Conrad novella *The Heart of Darkness*, it attempted to relate Kurtz's horrific words 'exterminate the brutes' to history.

Lindqvist travelled across the Sahara in his quest for understanding. The result was a beautifully written integration of criticism, cultural history and travel writing, underpinned by a passion for social justice. (*Reviewed in **NI 301***)



BEST film of the year

The latest work by John Sayles showed why he remains the best political filmmaker working in the US. **Men With Guns** was an allegory, set somewhere in the Americas – south of Texas. But it was also a grimly realist tale of a wealthy Latin American doctor driven to re-examine his liberal politics. A trek into the mountains to seek out former students deflated his self-image. It also pushed us, as viewers, to consider the value of piecemeal development projects when a repressive dictatorship stays intact. (*Reviewed in **NI 303***)

A Single Spark, directed by Park Kwang-Su, released in the West during 1998, also provided a model of committed, intelligent filmmaking. The film was partially financed through hundreds of donations from small community and labour groups throughout Korea. It told the story of Jeon Tae-Il, a young labour activist killed in the late 1960s, and his fight to improve conditions for textile workers. The political point-of-view was clear and direct. Yet the human drama within the story was remarkably complex and Kwang-su's style was equally layered and nuanced. (*Reviewed in **NI 304***)

진실의 힘... 사실의 영화!
전태일
11월 전국대개봉!

VIDEO

McLibel: Two Worlds Collide was an excellent first documentary by newcomer Franny Armstong. This David-and-Goliath story of two activists who took on one of the world's most powerful multinationals was essential viewing, especially as many TV channels were too afraid of highly-litigious McDonald's to transmit it. Order it from BCM Oops, London WCIN 3XX. Tel/fax: (+44) 171 247 8881. e-mail:ooops@spanner.org (*Reviewed in **NI 305***)

Reviews

book

America's Boy: The Marcoses and the Philippines

by James Hamilton-Paterson
(Granta, ISBN 1 86207 024 5)

To say the names 'Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos' is to take a mental shortcut to images of a archetypal brutal, corrupt dictatorship. Ferdinand as 'the world's greatest thief' and Imelda with her crooning and her shoes, overthrown by 'people's power' in 1986 and replaced by Cory, the saintly widow of the assassinated Benigno Aquino. Need we say more? James Hamilton-Paterson thinks so and he has made a persuasive case for a re-examination of the Marcos legend in his book **America's Boy**.

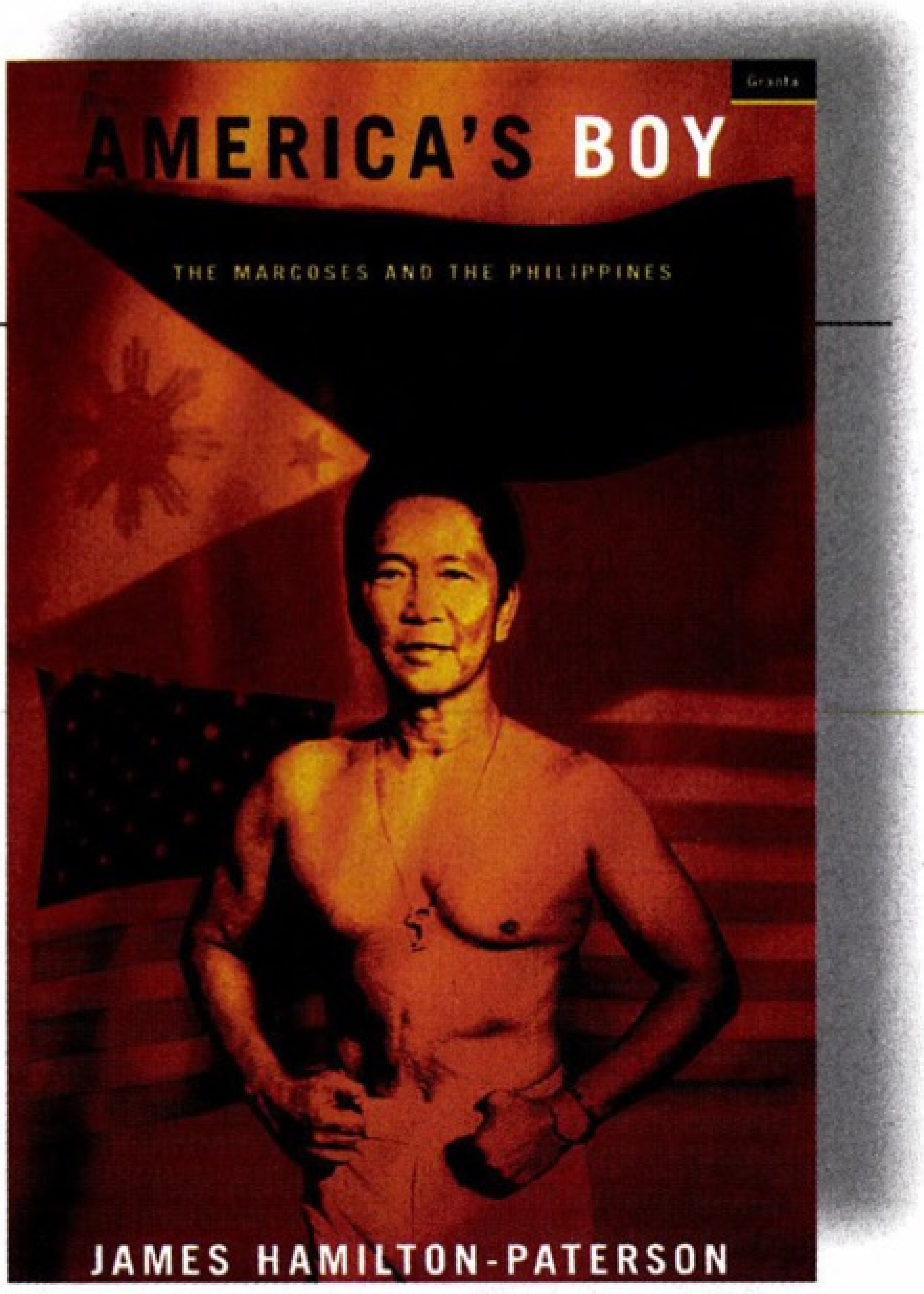
For two decades Hamilton-Paterson has lived for part of the year in Kansulay, a remote village in the Philippines, and he clearly despises the patronizing attitude of the 'parachute journalists' who descended on the country in the last days of the dictator and whose misreading of the situation did so much to reinforce a distorted perception of Marcos and the Philippines.

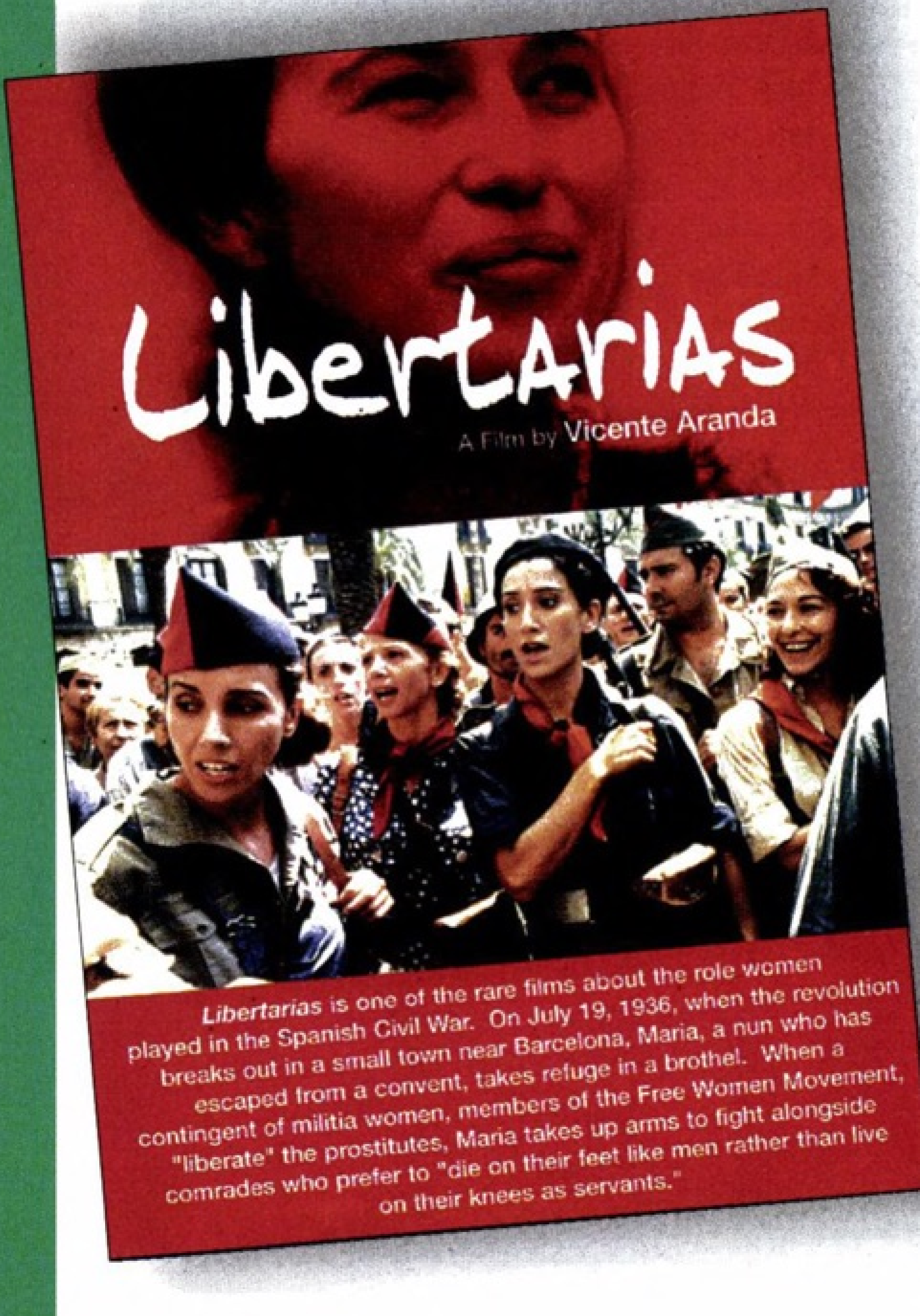
Not that Hamilton-Paterson is any sort of apologist for the regime, but he feels that the rise and decline of Marcos constitutes a complex and hitherto-untold story, stretching from the web of family and friendship ties that is Filipino society to the controlling hand of US regional hegemony.

Hamilton-Paterson tells Marcos's story from a Filipino perspective, constantly cutting away from the narrative to consider how events at the centre of power affected the people in whose name Marcos claimed to act. This is a sensible way to examine the career of a self-declared populist and nationalist, which ensures that the reader keeps in mind the social as well as political context. And it shows clearly how Marcos was not some aberration or hiatus in an otherwise pristine democratic system. He was the product of a network of oligarchy, patronage, cronyism and corruption that pre-dated him and which continues to this day; what Hamilton-Paterson calls 'the perennial shenanigans of Manila's governmental élite'. In cataloguing the grotesque excesses and violence of the Marcos years – which the author in no way tries to excuse – he is surely right to question whether Marcos deserves his uniquely demonized status, especially given the antics of other of the US's 'regional strongmen'.

James Hamilton-Paterson is a superb prose stylist and this book is meticulously researched. And who could argue with his conclusion that 'the United States had always been recognized as the power behind the throne in the Philippines; the withdrawal of that support changed little except the incumbent. The power remained'?

Politics ✩✩✩✩
Entertainment ✩✩✩✩ PW





Libertarias is one of the rare films about the role women played in the Spanish Civil War. On July 19, 1936, when the revolution breaks out in a small town near Barcelona, Maria, a nun who has escaped from a convent, takes refuge in a brothel. When a contingent of militia women, members of the Free Women Movement, "liberate" the prostitutes, Maria takes up arms to fight alongside comrades who prefer to "die on their feet like men rather than live on their knees as servants."

film

Libertarias

directed by **Vincente Aranda**
(distributed by Sogepac International and Mongrel Media)

VINCENTE Aranda's **Libertarias** opens in the euphoria of the Spanish revolution. In July, 1936 the anarchist-controlled towns and cities of Catalonia attempted to overthrow centuries of history. Barcelona, in particular, was the centre for massive and heroic efforts to sweep away old economic, political and religious traditions. Churches burned, factories were reorganized on egalitarian principles, committees of workers and peasants struggled to build a new society without bosses, without landowners, even without money.

Maria, a young, sheltered and very innocent nun flees from her convent straight into the lair of a whorehouse. Then in quick succession the prostitutes are freed by a women's militia, which rushes into Barcelona to join the Republican army marching toward the Fascist lines.

It's early days. Anarchist and socialist groups career along the streets in triumph. Even the barbers have a new organization, marching through the city declaring its presence. The women's militia have seized the opportunity to create a space within the revolution to fight the centuries-old patriarchy. They refuse to play second fiddle, and see no need to be integrated into a regular army.

Libertarias features three of Spain's leading actors – and Victoria Abril, especially, creates a memorable character as the spiritualist militia fighter. As the story unfolds, her change from whimsical optimist to a grotesque speaker-in-tongues, possessed by a man's voice-of-doom, echoes the tragic story as a whole. As the war progresses the women are betrayed, taken over by the male-dominated revolution.

Aranda tells a compelling story, with characters so full and engaging that you can almost forget the awful ending to the war. But the film also contains some serious flaws. Its plotting creates large gaps and several undeveloped incidents – as if the film were originally much longer and chunks of story got dropped in the editing. The young nun's transformation from devout believer to militia fighter quoting Bakunin and Kropotkin seems contrived. Most disappointing is the way that the film uses Moroccan mercenaries to signify barbaric villains: surely the Spanish-grown Fascists committed atrocities enough. Throughout the war both sides used foreign troops as volunteers and paid mercenaries. For the film to set up the Moroccans as the women's attackers seems racist and a political cheat. It's as if the filmmakers, in a mood of present-day reconciliation, want to overlook the Spanish cruelties of the war and displace them on to foreigners. A pity that a film clearly made to raise consciousness and present a new interpretation on the war adds an additional sour element to an already tragic story.

Politics ✩✩✩
Entertainment ✩✩✩✩ PS

cd roms

Homebeats: Struggles for racial justice

by **The Institute for Race Relations** *(CD-ROM, ISBN 0 85001 052 7)*

Pillaged Lives: Third world debt and global institutions

by the **Social Justice Committee of Montreal** *(1857 de Maisonneuve O., Suite 320, Montreal, QC H3H 1JP)*

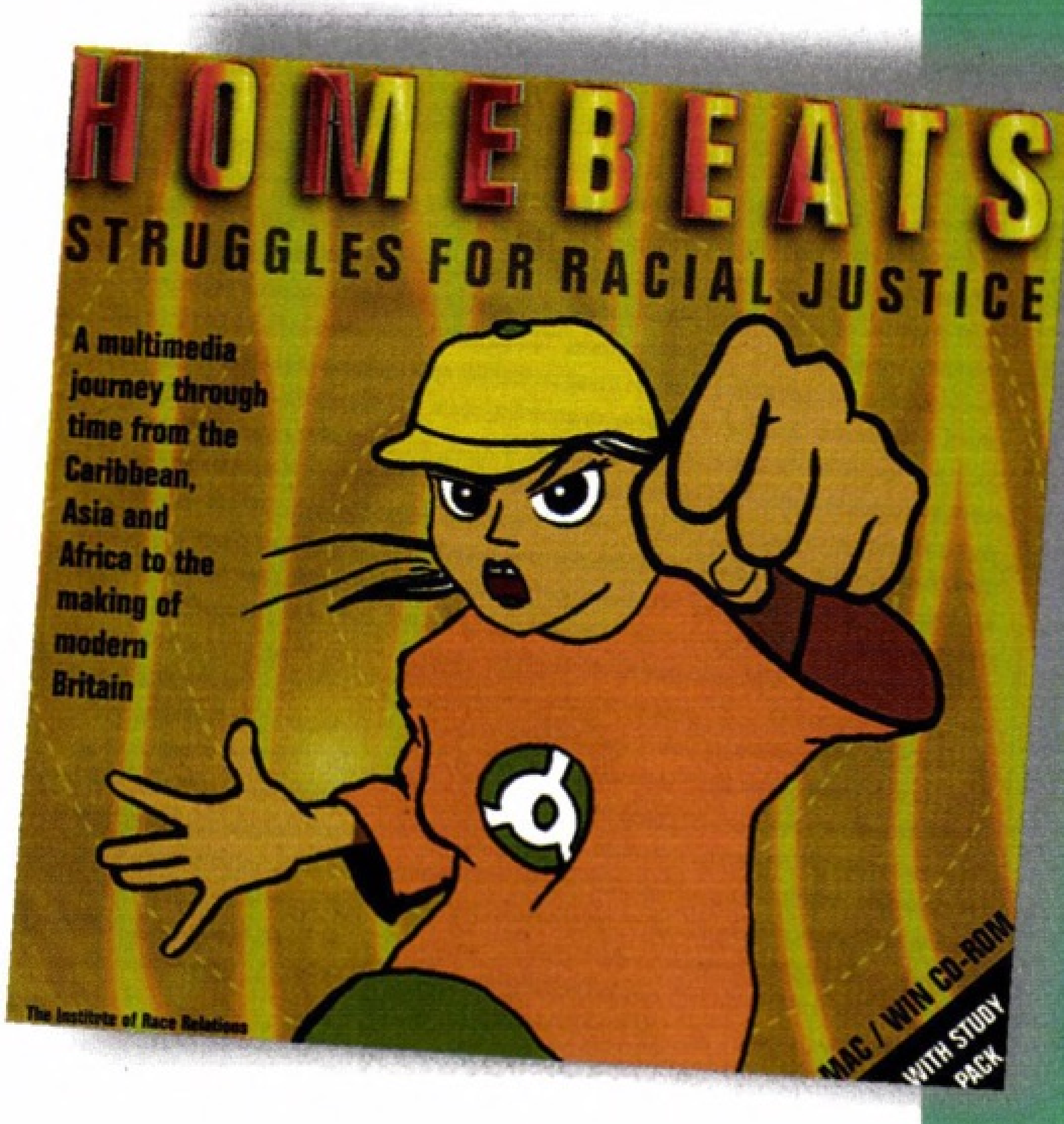
BILLED as the 'first CD-Rom on racism and the black presence in Britain' **Homebeats** has a lively, up-to-date interactive approach suitable for schools, colleges and individuals. It takes you on a global journey through time, place and people to visions of a better world.

It manages at the same time to convey a huge amount of information – from slavery and colonialism to the civil rights movement and anti-racism – while keeping the element of fun and entertainment with music from the Asian Dub Foundation. A series of quizzes 'wins' access to the 'DJ Booth' for yet more music, and the use of graphics and video clips – including Martin Luther King's famous 'I have a dream' speech – is clever and engaging. Well worth exploring.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆

Pillaged Lives, meanwhile, outlines the root causes of debt in the Third World. Produced in partnership with a range of Canadian non-governmental organizations, it provides a comprehensive look at debt, structural adjustment, trade, the World Bank and the IMF, and explains the history of the debt and describes its effects on the people of the Third World. It is accompanied by striking photos and offers detailed text of many important documents. As an introduction to Third World debt, it covers all the important areas, while suffering a little from being a bit solemn. But for anyone looking for a thorough introduction to the subject it will prove useful.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆ NG


HOMEBEATS
STRUGGLES FOR RACIAL JUSTICE
A multimedia journey through time from the Caribbean, Asia and Africa to the making of modern Britain
The Institute of Race Relations
MAC / WIN CD-ROM
WITH STUDY PACK

music

Murder, Misery and then Goodnight

by **Kristin Hersh** *(4AD M1 CD)*

OK

by **Talvin Singh** *(Island CID 8075)*

NEVER has there been an album where the protagonists have such a collectively lousy deal. Kristin Hersh's subjects get beaten up, drowned, stabbed and doused with gin. Sometimes their killers are repentant; sometimes they just couldn't care less. As you've probably guessed, **Murder, Misery and then Goodnight** is a collection of folk songs. Not only a great series of yarns – a welcome follow-up to two self-penned albums – it also affords Hersh an opportunity to revisit the songs of her own Appalachian childhood. As the Brothers Grimm so eloquently remind us, folk tales and folk songs aren't always so nice. That's what's delightful about them: they're a place to indulge – and to exorcise – our darkest thoughts.

Hersh is, of course, well-placed to do precisely this. She's a writer with the rare gift for matching the uncanny movement of words and music with a sense of the strange that mediates the dark with humour. 'What Shall We Do With The Baby-o?' is a prime example, as is 'Three Nights Drunk', a standard cuckold song or even 'Banks of the Ohio', here rescued forever from Olivia Newton John's saccharine twangs. **Murder, Misery and then Goodnight** inhabits a large, clear area – mostly acoustic guitar, with a few contributions from the family chorus of kids – the space hints at the distance of memory and of the past. This is an affectionate tribute to the way past and present coalesce and the warmth of the project – listen to the achingly beautiful lullaby, 'Whole Heap of Little Horses' – is in no doubt.

The breathtakingly talented Talvin Singh.

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Politics ☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆

Apart from one whispered mention of a funeral pyre, there's not much about death in Talvin Singh's long-awaited debut album. A glimpse at one cover photo – a studio, a glowing computer, a statue of a Hindu god and a few tablas – tells you that **OK**'s subject matter is not so much East meets West, but a music that speaks to both traditions and drags them into the future. Better known for his work with Björk and Courtney Pine than his days as a virtuoso tabla player, London-born Singh is a breathlessly talented musician with a wide-ranging idea of what music should aim for. And he's assembled a prodigious cast – Cleveland Watkiss, Bill Laswell and Sakamoto among them – to realize it. Moving from fusion jazz to subtle dance beats and sweeping sitar drones, Singh's controlling hand doesn't let up for a second. Whether it's a Hendrix-inspired sitar and percussion jam or a slinky, shimmering chorus propelled forward by the Madras Philharmonic Orchestra's strings, **OK**'s vision is of a unified sound world, where exquisite textures disclose a flexible structure. Like Hersh's album, **OK** is a way of revisiting roots and reconnecting them to new worlds outside. Others have tried to, but seldom as boldly as Singh.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆ LG

STAR RATING

Excellent	☆☆☆☆☆
Very good	☆☆☆☆
Good	☆☆☆
Fair	☆☆
Poor	☆

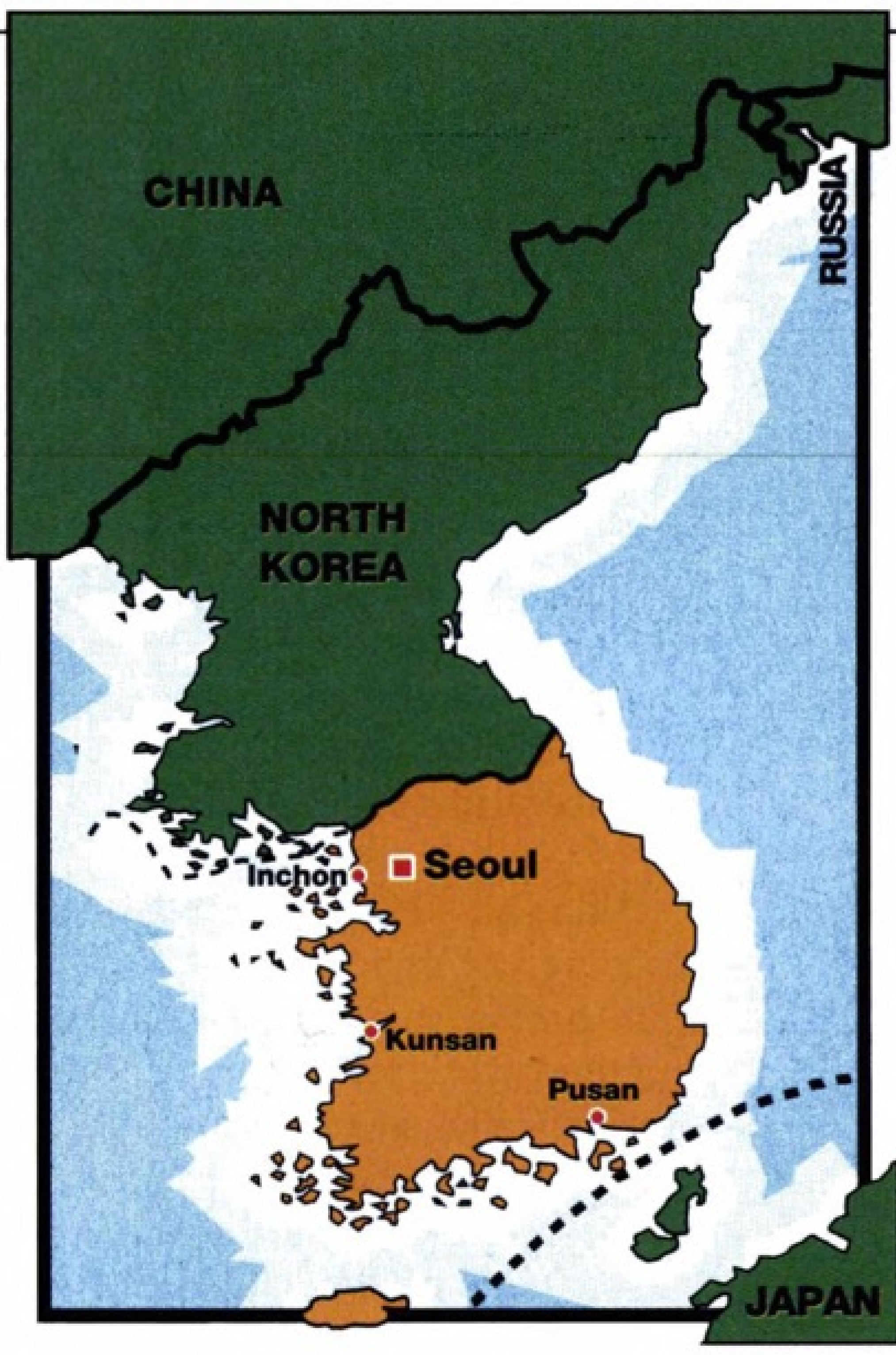
Reviewers: Louise Gray, Peter Steven, Nikki van der Gaag, Peter Whittaker
Reviews editor: **Vanessa Baird**

Country profile South Korea

THROUGHOUT South Korea's cities, former professionals huddle together on footpaths alongside displaced building workers – common victims of the hopelessness, despair and rage that comes from being stood down. In this country there is great shame in losing your job. It tears apart families and drives many workers to commit suicide. People are stunned that their country's rapid rise to riches has had an even more rapid demise.

Late in 1997 an abstract run on the South Korean *won* triggered a series of financial collapses, the scale of which were magnified by the recklessness of big businesses' investing and borrowing. The IMF offered $58 billion in bail-out loans in return for a one-sided overhaul of the highly protected economy.

Manufacturing in South Korea has long been dominated by the *chaebol,* large conglomerate companies such as Samsung and Hyundai. Four *chaebol* account for 45 per cent of GNP and around 50 such companies control the entire economy. Bribes from the *chaebol* have traditionally flowed freely to the military governments, and government subsidies for industry have flowed back; the companies have also benefitted enormously from the severe repression of labor rights. But their inward focus means they have neglected to develop support industries, and that, coupled with endemic corruption, fuelled the economic collapse.



ITEM WORLD GUIDE 1996/97

South Korea's economy, traditionally based on agriculture, underwent an extraordinarily rapid industrialization from the 1950s. Gross domestic product expanded by more than nine per cent yearly between the mid-1960s and the early 1990s. Economic aid, especially from the US and Japan, helped South Korea grow in the span of a generation from one of the world's poorest to a feisty East Asian tiger economy.

The US aid came in the aftermath of the 1950-53 war in which US-led United Nations forces fought against North Korea and its Chinese and Soviet allies. The two Koreas have been technically in a state of war ever since. Their border is the world's most heavily armed, with two million troops deployed. With China and the US, South Korea recently began talks with the North, but little progress has been made and the threat of nuclear proliferation remains a serious regional concern.

Open participatory government also continues to elude the country's people. The rapid industrialization was fostered under the autocratic rule of Major-General Park Chung Hee, who came to power in 1961 and was eventually assassinated in 1979.

Major-General Chun Doo Hwan then seized power but his attempts in 1987 to rubber-stamp another general, Roh Tae Woo, as successor sparked massive student-led protests joined by the middle classes. Roh won an election with only 37-per-cent support after Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam split the opposition vote, though his rule was shaken by a wave of strikes for higher wages and democratic rights.

In 1990 Kim Young Sam merged his opposition party with Roh's ruling camp and he was elected the country's first civilian President in 1992. He led an anti-corruption campaign that put Roh and Chun on trial for bribery. The two former Presidents were charged with mutiny and treason for their roles in the 1979 coup and 1980 Kwangju massacre.

After a lifetime of opposition, the current President, Kim Dae Jung, was elected following the economic crash. But he wants to tighten strike laws and says he will deal sternly with those involved in illegal strikes – only the government-dominated *Hanguknoh chung* labor federation is legally recognized. But union leaders say that the economic crisis and the suppression of workers will only make more people aware of the problems – and more hostile towards the Government's response.

South Koreans are no strangers to being colonized or oppressed, and have as a result developed a long history of dissent. Their pain is real and anger is building. South Korea is in few respects the Land of the Morning Calm. ■

Myonghee Lim

AT A GLANCE

ERIC L WHEATER

Leader President Kim Dae Jung.

Economy GNP per capita $10,550 (Japan $40,940). But this World Bank figure is from pre-crash 1997. In reality the economy has been mutilated by the current crisis and both production and living standards have tumbled.
Monetary unit: Won.
Main exports: Textiles (18%), electronic goods (16%), machinery (11%) and cars (6%).
Main imports: Machinery and transport equipment, mineral fuels.

People 46 million.

Health Infant mortality 6 per 1,000 (Australia 6 per 1,000). Again, the figure is from 1996: infant-mortality rates will certainly have deteriorated since the crash.

Culture There are no ethnic differences between North and South Koreans. Koreans are an unusually homogeneous group in cultural terms. There are no distinct minorities.
Religion: Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity and Chondokio.
Language: Korean.

NI star rating

EXCELLENT	★★★★★
GOOD	★★★★
FAIR	★★★
POOR	★★
APPALLING	★

Sources *World Guide 1999-2000; The State of the World's Children 1998; World Bank World Development Report 1998; The Asia & Pacific Review 1997.*

Previously profiled April 1988

STAR RATINGS

INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★★★
The economic crash will widen the gap between the haves and the have-nots.
1988 ★★

SELF-RELIANCE ★★
Though economists did not read the signs, as long ago as the mid-1980s South Korea was the fourth-most indebted country in the world.
1988 ★★

POSITION OF WOMEN ★★★
Slowly improving.
1988 ★★

LITERACY ★★★★★
At 98%, the highest in Asia after Japan.
1988 ★★★★

FREEDOM ★★
Very low tolerance of difference or dissent; numerous abuses of justice when dealing with protesters. Homosexuals are still largely ostracized.
1988 ★★★

LIFE EXPECTANCY ★★★★
72 years (Japan 80 years, China 69 years)
1988 ★★★★

POLITICS

NI ASSESSMENT ★★
The democratically elected government is relatively new, and there are still widepread restrictions on free association, union activity and free speech. The chaebol-government nexus also needs to be broken before meaningful democratic advances can be made. Open dialogue needs to be established with the North.

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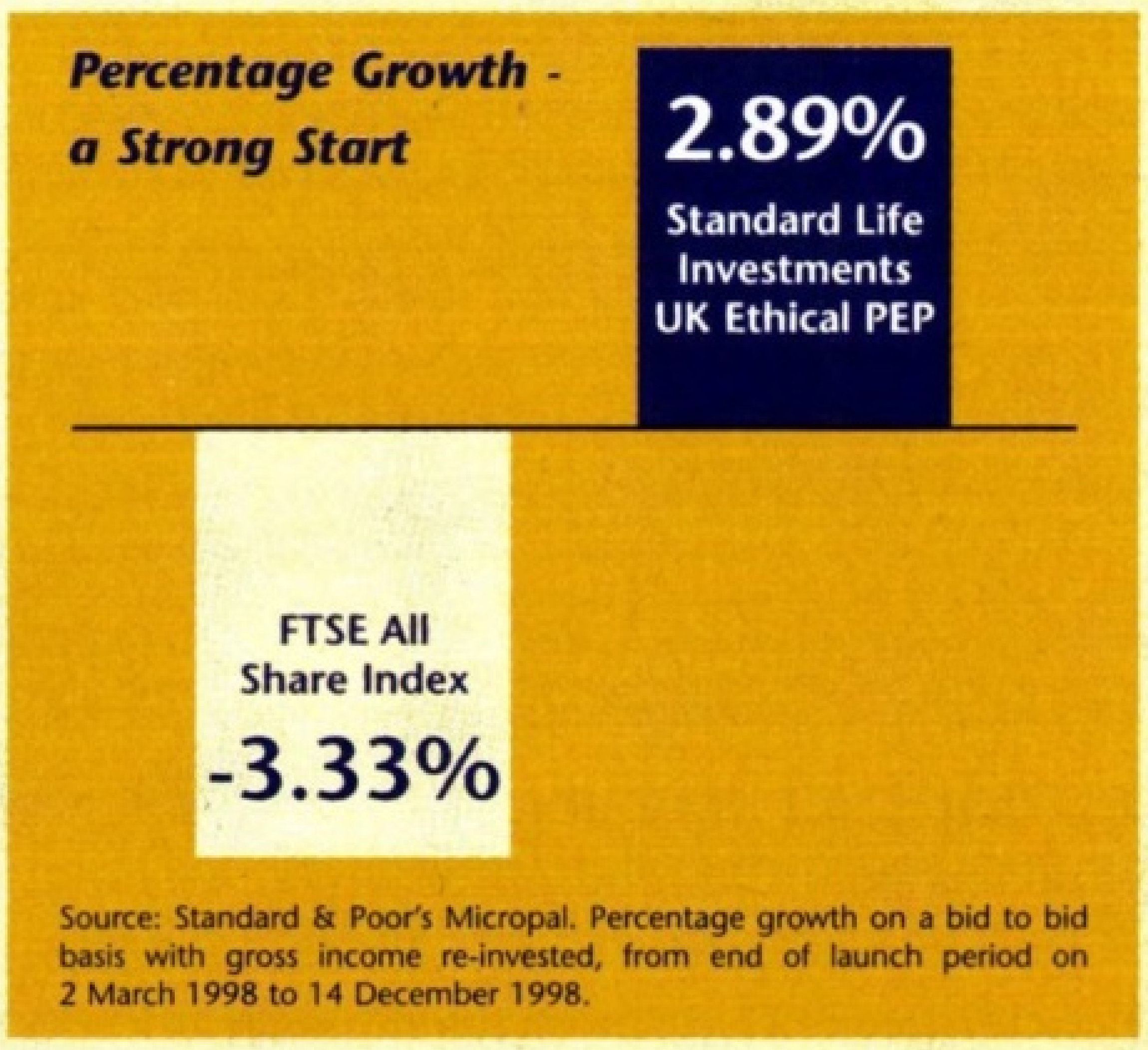

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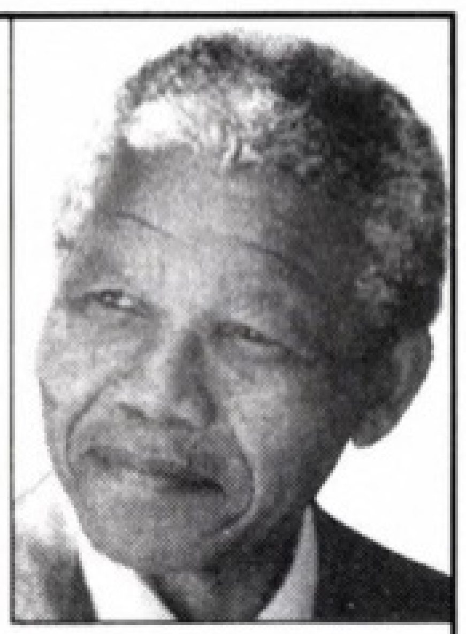

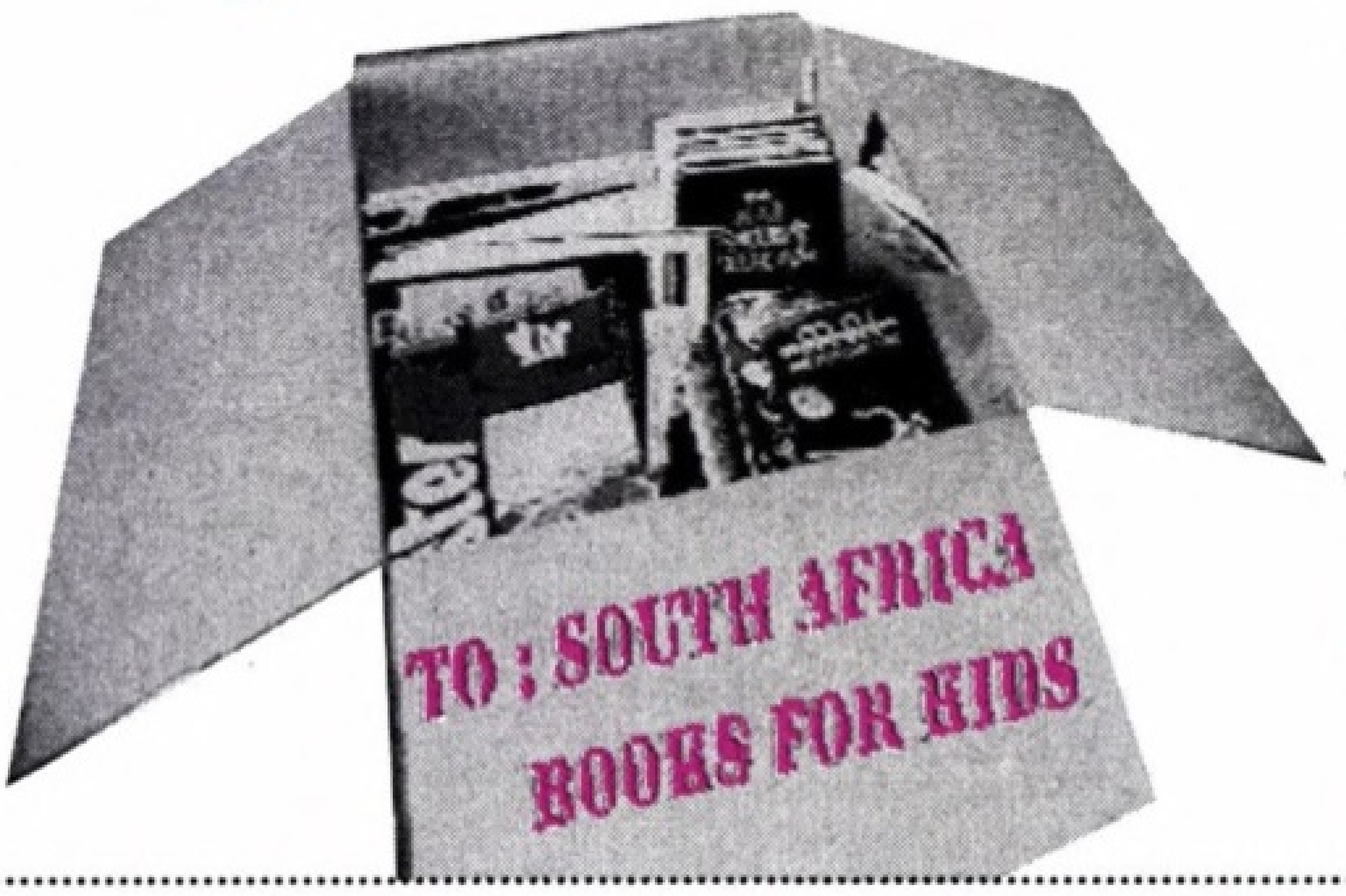

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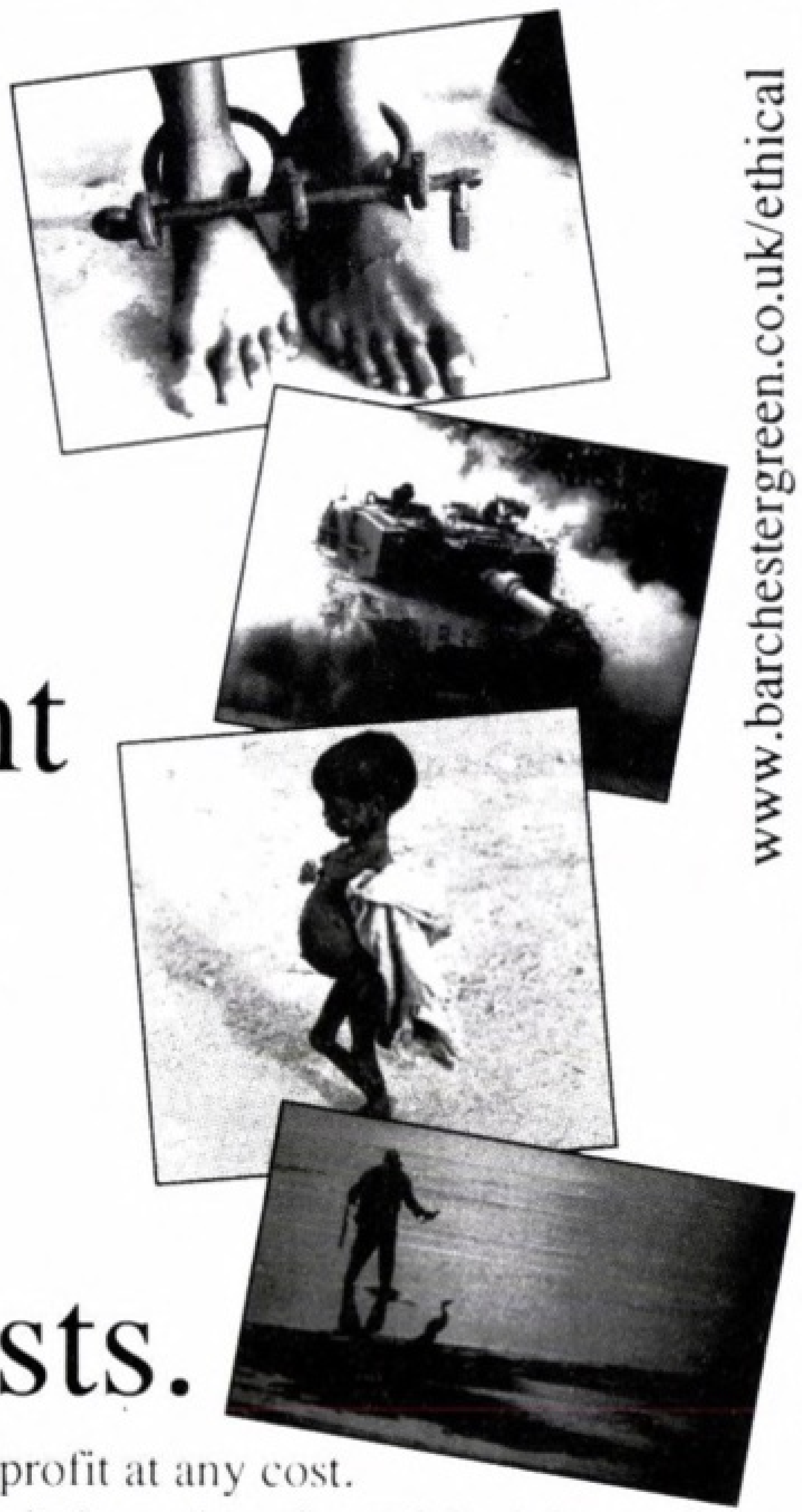

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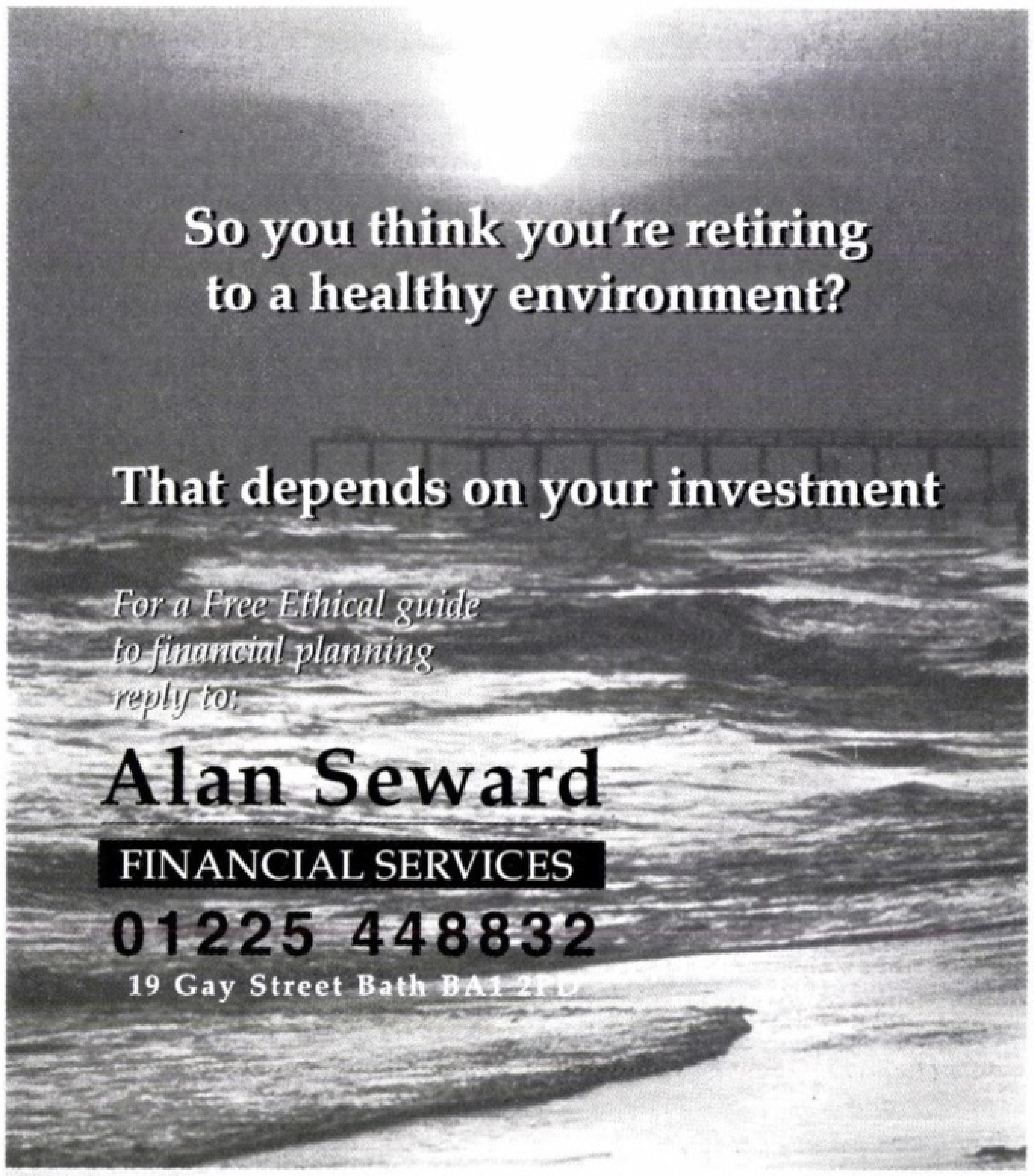

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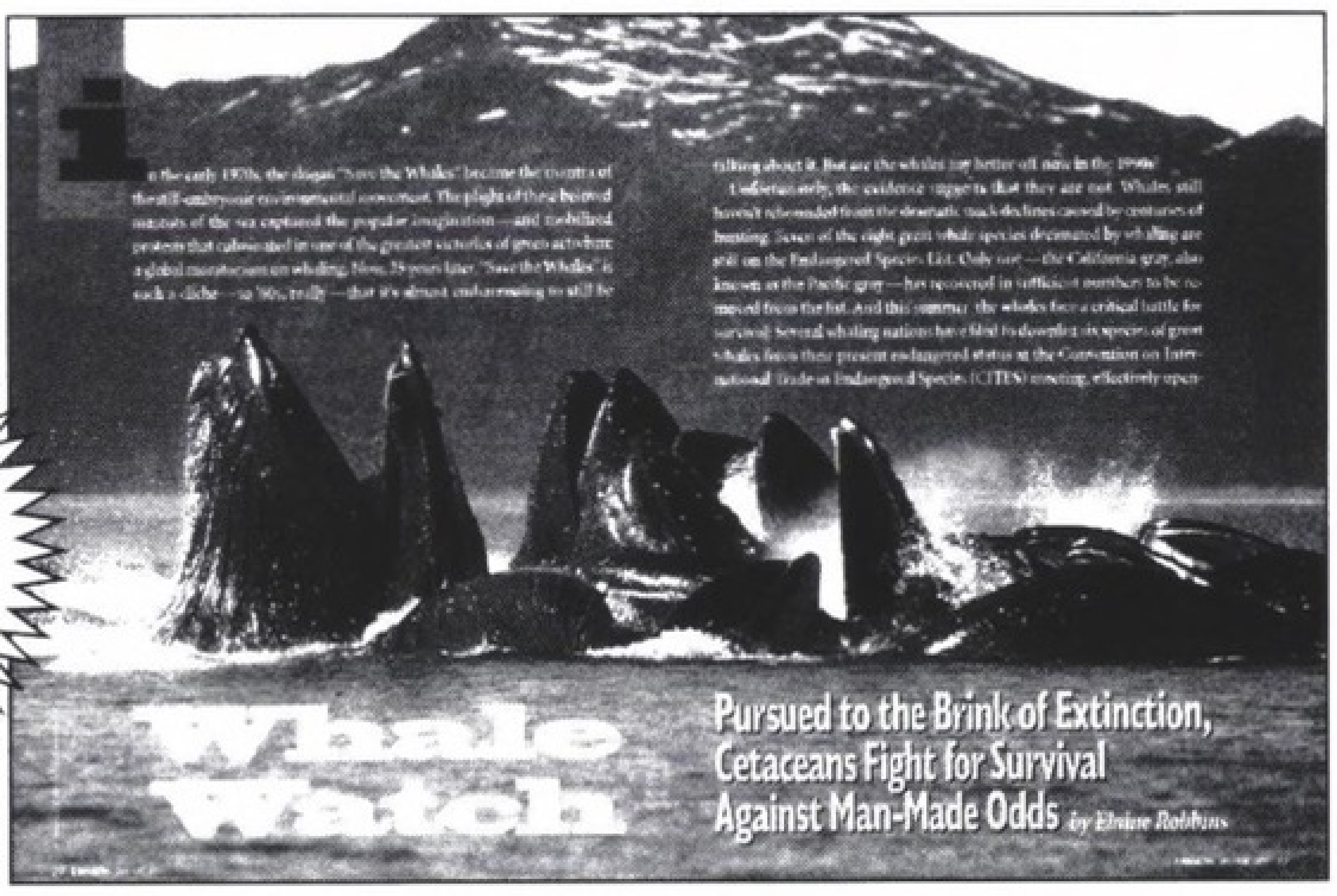
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